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Thesis

SPENGLER'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SUBJECT: "PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY"

Definition. History is defined as

> a systematic written account of events, particularly of those affecting a nation, institution, science, or art, and usually connected with a philosophical explanation of their causes."[1]

Philosophy is "the science which investigates the most general facts and principles of reality and of human nature and conduct."[2] Philosophy of history may be defined as that branch of philosophical study which seeks to discover the body of principles or general concepts underlying the events of history.

Baldwin defines philosophy of history as

> the interpretation and explanation of events in their succession in accordance with general principles of science and philosophy. . . . To denote the explanation, from philosophical principles, of historical phenomena at large or the entire course of historical development.[3]

E. Troeltsch, concluding a discussion of empirical history, says:

> Our concern with history, however, is by no means exhausted in causal interpretation and the formation of aggregates. For, on the one hand, there arises the problem regarding the relation of the historical process in the world to the fundamental forces of the

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1. Webster, NID, Second Edition.
2. Ibid.
3. Baldwin, DPP, Vol. I, 477.

> universe, and, on the other, the problem regarding the significance of that process for the living and operative will of each particular age--the will which is nurtured by the events of history, and yet manifests at every instant a creative power of its own.[4]

Approaching the subject from the philosophical point of view Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison says:

> Moreover, if philosophy is to complete its constructive work, it must bring the course of human history within its survey, and exhibit the sequence of events as an evolution in which the purposive action of reason is traceable. This is the task of the philosophy of history, a peculiarly modern study, due to the growth of a humanistic and historical point of view. . . .The philosophy of history differs . . . from the purely scientific or descriptive studies covered by the general title of sociology. Sociology conceives itself as a natural science elucidating a factual sequence. The philosophy of history is essentially teleological; that is to say, it seeks to interpret the process as the realization of an immanent end. It may be said, therefore, to involve a complete metaphysical theory.[5]

Survey of the Study. In the earlier part of the last century, John Stuart Mill, discussing the idea of progress, argued that from the reciprocal action of men and circumstance, "there must necessarily result either a cycle or a trajectory." (The resultant movement must be either an orbit or a course returning not unto itself.) One or the other of these must be the type to which human affairs must conform. Examining the philosophies of history down the ages reveals that all may be classified in the one category or the other or in an attempted combination.

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4. Troeltsch, ERE, Vol.VI, 721.
5. Pringle-Pattison, EB, 13th Ed., Vols. 21-22, 444.

Going back to the early philosophers reveals that the Greeks were impressed by the fact that cultures differed from one country to another, and that even in a given country changes in the culture could be noted over a period of time. They assumed that all change followed the pattern of natural biological growth. But they also realized that often "natural" growth and process was interrupted by "accidents." These "accidents" prevented the "natural" course of history from taking place. Accordingly they separated the "natural" course of change from the study of history--a distinction that remains with us today.

The Greeks and Romans were dominated in their historical thinking by this biological analogy and the consequential theory of cycles. Plato in the third Book of the Laws set forth a remarkable picture of the "natural" course of the development of culture. Aristotle believed that both parts of the earth and the cultures of men were subject to change and that this change must follow some order or cycle. Both of these great philosophers imagined that the cultures would come to an end in a "great winter" of a "great year." This idea of the "great year" had been imported into the Classical world from Asia. It was adopted by the Stoics and became a central feature of their philosophy. Polybius, following Plato, described the cycle of political revolution. Florus periodized

Roman history in terms of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age.

Passing to those other people whose thought has so influenced modern life, the Hebrews, discloses that they, contrary to the Greeks, had little interest in "natural" science. Their own history had had all too little of "natural" development but was rather fraught with "accidents." These they explained by the deus ex machina of Jehovah who in his dealings with Israel was the occasion of these events.

The early Church Fathers were faced with a problem in regard to these contrary views. As in many other problems they reached a solution in compromise. The two points of view were reconciled and combined in Augustine.

> He declared that, as the events of sacred history were unique, recurrences were impossible, and hence the theory of cycles was inadmissable. . . . (But) he conceived of this "unique" history of mankind as falling into divisions represented by youth, manhood, and old age of the human race. . . . He retained the idea of development . . . envisaged . . . as taking place but once.[6]

Augustine's view remained dominant for centuries, but in the seventeenth century it was modified by the idea of indefinite progress into the future. The eighteenth century witnessed the elaboration of schemes of natural development on the model of Plato with the specific reintroduction of cycles as in the case of Vico or with

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6. Teggart, Rev. 1, 598.

their omission as was general in England and France. However, even in these last-mentioned countries it was assumed that the same series of stages was repeated in each culture. In the nineteenth century there was a definite opposition between "natural" history and history. The social scientists accepted and emphasized the former, but the national historians put a renewed emphasis upon the uniqueness of each event. On the one side was presented the theoretical series of stages in the development of mankind and on the other was stressed the factual series of historical "happenings."

F. J. Teggart summarizes the contemporary view.

> Historical scholarship, for a century, has emphasized the view that all events are unique, and has verbally maintained the principle that the business of the writer of history is to narrate just what it was that actually happened, without attempting to give any explanation in regard to the course of the events. . . . This policy involves an impossibility. A narrative connot be composed without selection of materials, and without some interest or guiding idea in the mind of the author. The writing of history is an art.[7]

Directing attention to the more specific background of Spengler we turn to Germany where "a favorite intellectual exercise . . . has always been the erection of towering philosophies of history in which a vast mound of data is, willy-nilly, systematized into a design."[8] To answer the "why" of history was the aim of attempts by

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7. Teggart, Rev. 1, 598.
8. Chant and Joyce, Art. 1, 765.

both Lessing and Herder. Kant brought in a transcendental note in his Idea of a New Universal History on a Cosmopolitan Plan. Fichte followed Kant with another attempt. Kant's interest in the a priori was applied to the realm of history by Hegel

> . . . who conceiving history as the history of political forms alone, imagined some spirit as continuously moving from one people to another, breathing the breath of life into each culture before it passed.[9]

Spengler's treatment of all the attributes of culture as expressions of Spirit and as subjective strongly suggests the influence of Hegelian or Kantian idealism. Allen Tate compares Spengler and Hegel who both saw the world as history.

> Hegel portrayed his history-world as dialectic, while Spengler subsumes dialectic, along with painting, music, architecture, under the concept of history; all are expression-forms in the quite homogeneous cultures in which they arise. His viewpoint is not Hegel's world-as-dialectic, which he rejects as being identical in form with the world-as-nature of science, but the world-as-history, as organism.[10]

Carl Joachim Friedrich sees Spengler's political theory, especially from its empirical and pragmatic starting point as close to that of Machiavelli who also had a notion of the cyclical development of society. Waldo Frank conceives another forebear of Spengler in Leibnitz.

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9. Chant and Joyce, Art. 1, 766.
10. Tate, Rev. 1, 532.

The notion of a Culture-organism, independent, impenetrable,

> yet somehow mirroring the universe within its autonomous self, and moved only by God in the mysterious shape of Destiny, is very close to Leibnitz with his Monads. [11]

Many aspects of Spengler's philosophy call to mind the élan vitale of Bergson. Their conceptions of time also bear a marked resemblance.

The basic idea of Spengler was not new. The notion of youthful and aging civilizations, as shown above, was familiar centuries ago. Darwin's philosophy of evolution and the foundation of the science of archeology gave the idea quite a boost. Funck-Brentano's La Civilisation et ses Lois published in 1876 shows ideas parallel to those of Spengler. Disraeli's novel Tancred resembles the basic idea in the purely imaginative realm. Dr. Charles Pearson in his National Life and Character which appeared in 1893 saw State Socialism as the infallible sign of a decaying civilization. Satire and journalism in place of the epic and pastoral as forms of literary art were indicative of the approach to the limits of development. Flinders Petrie's Revolutions of Civilization appearing in 1911 covered much of the same ground as was later done by Spengler.

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11. Frank, Rev. 1, 595.

II. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the philosophy of history of Spengler, to examine this philosophy and pass upon it those criticisms which it seemed to warrant, and to attempt to place Spengler in the history of thought and to assert his permanent worth.

III. THE MAN

Biographical Sketch. The man whose ideas assumed such Titanic proportions in The Decline of the West was quite modest when submitting a biographical note:

> Born May 29, 1880, at Blankenburg in the Harz, son of a mining engineer. Attended the Classical Gymnasium at Halle, and the Universities of Halle, Munich, and Berlin. Specialized in mathematics and philosophy. Taught in a secondary school. Since 1911, engaged in private study at Munich.[12]

Spengler took his doctorate in 1904 at Halle University with a dissertation entitled "The Metaphysical Foundation of the Philosophy of Heraclitus." This was his sole publication before his magnum opus which catapulted him to fame.

The main ideas of The Decline of the West were formulated in 1911 when Spengler was but an obscure school-teacher. Contrary to much opinion, the volume was not the result of a defeatism occasioned by the vanquishment of the Central Powers. It received its germinal

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12. Grützmacher, Rev. 1, 20.

impulse when in 1911 the Agadir crisis turned Spengler's attention to current issues. His first instinct was to write on some political phenomena of the age and the conclusions to which they pointed. Here Spengler, himself, can take up the narrative.

> I then discovered that I must go much further back in order to understand the present, but that a political problem cannot be understood on the purely political plane, and, indeed, that no fragment of history could be understood till we penetrate the secret of world-history, which no one had ever achieved. Then all the connections began to come clear, and I envisaged the approaching war as a type of a historical occurence which had its predetermined place within a great historical framework. At last I saw the solution plainly before me in immense outlines and in all its logical necessity. My book contains the irrefutable formulation of an idea which cannot be contested. Its narrower theme is an analysis of the decline of the culture of the West; but the goal is nothing less than the problem of civilization.[13]

<u>The Decline of the West</u> existed in essence before the War--in fact, the first volume was finished by 1914. Revision of the work was accomplished under the most difficult of conditions: candle-light; a cramped, sunless, and heatless back room tenement; and a paucity of reference books. These conditions take on even deeper significance when it is realized that Spengler (like a true Faustian) had a great craving for light, air, and untrammeled vistas.

Nor were Spengler's difficulties at an end once

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13. Cited by Gooch, G, 329.

the book was written. A publisher in Germany during those years of 1915-17 was impossible to find. In 1918 Spengler's work first saw print in Vienna. Not until the third edition (1919) was the book taken over by its present publisher, C. H. Beck of Munich. The notoriety of the book, largely because of its title, immediately became widespread. But almost at once the deeper qualities of the book, based on its vast learning and inquiring theories, gave it a more lasting fame. A flood of controversy poured out from all sources--every possible shade of opinion but neutrality was represented. As Lewis Mumford expresses it, the book "makes religious converts or cold, impassive enemies." It is "esteemed as a gospel or hastily dismissed as a superstition."[14]

In 1921 Spengler permitted The Decline of the West to pass out of print. It was revised, rewritten, amplified, and reissued in 1923. In the meantime the second volume had appeared in 1922. By January, 1925, more than 97,000 copies of the first volume had been sold and 81,000 of the second. It secured world-wide notice and comment, editions appearing in many foreign languages.

The published likenesses of Spengler give one the impression of aloofness and austerity which may be accounted for by the fact that premeditated, organized

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14. Mumford, Rev. 2, 140.

photography repelled him. His instinctive need of generous spaces has been mentioned. His immense physical vigor gave this need vent in long walking trips in the Brocken, Harz Mountains, and in Switzerland. He would climb for hours without tiring, despite fever and occasional violent head-aches, and was apparently immune to the effects of heat and cold. Long conversations with the peasants and the collection and repetition of their lore was another of his diversions.

Before his ascent to fame Spengler was obliged to live in restricted conditions, taking care of his own needs, and eating in restaurants frequented by laborers. Knopf, Spengler's American publisher, tells that

> one of his first personal uses of his success was to provide himself with a long suite of rooms in which he could stride back and forth in a way which, it would appear, frees his thoughts as nothing else does.[15]

This later residence was a suite of rooms along the façade of an apartment on the Widenmayerstrasse. It was decorated with paintings of the old Italian masters, a few valuable French paintings, and representations of important German work. Indian, Persian, and Turkish weapons collected by the proprietor occupied conspicuous places on the wall.

Though a great lover of art, Spengler declined to

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15. Knopf, B.M.H, 4.

accumulate its objects through collectors but enjoyed ferretting them out himself. He loved museums and art-galleries. His grasp of music was beyond the ordinary. Appreciative of all music, he played and preferred eighteenth century compositions. In drama he enjoyed most the comedies of Molière and Shakespeare. He liked Italy among countries most and felt that he had a deep and sympathetic understanding of it. Knopf portrays him as a "modern and intensely civilized man who wholly escapes the double curse of being ultra-modern and over-civilized."[16] Spengler was without personal political ambition and, as an occasional public speaker, without artifice or deliberate oratory.

A revealing anecdote concerning Spengler is narrated by his philosophic contemporary, Count Keyserling:

> It may amuse you to hear about my first meeting with Spengler, the author of The Decline of the West. It was in Munich soon after the war and, I believe, Thomas Mann introduced us to each other. Spengler was very pompous and every inch the author of a book of twelve hundred pages. At a certain moment during dinner he turned toward me as though he had just solved the crucial problem of life and said: "Do you know why the German business man is superior to his English colleague? Because, instead of picking up his golf clubs after his work, he sits down to read his Tacitus." What a knowledge of England and Germany! Cannot you see all the millions of German business men rushing home in order to settle down to their Tacitus? How typical of Spengler![17]

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16. Ibid., 13.
17. Landau, GMA, 294.

At Munich, in addition to research and writing, Spengler was a university professor and a speaker at Nationalist rallies. His distrust of Communism and non-Aryan races qualified him as a good Nazi. As a public speaker he demonstrated the effectiveness of nationalism and doubtlessly helped prepare the way for National Socialism. However, the phenomena attendant upon the Nazis' rise to power shocked and disgusted him. He soon alienated party leaders by his strong independence of spirit and his refusal to turn his talents to Jew-baiting. In 1934 his The Hour of Decision sold 200,000 copies. In this book he took the Nazi leaders to task for pandering to the mob and contemptuously dismissed their racial doctrines. He in turn was denounced for these heresies but remained a monumental figure in German life until his death of a heart-attack at the age of fifty-five in May, 1936.

Extent and Influence of Work. A philosopher who can write "best-sellers" is undoubtedly a great influential force in his age. Spengler has been translated into many foreign languages including the Japanese. It is interesting to note that a Russian edition was destroyed shortly before it was due to be released. Philosophical journals and scholastic publications in all lands have contained lengthy reviews and articles. Spengler was and still is of immense popularity in Germany where he has had the greatest influence. Two movements at least in

contemporary Germany appear to have been vitally affected by him. His relation to the Nazi revolution has been discussed. What optimism there could be found in Spengler for the promise of a new Germany certainly has had a part in the moulding of the Nationalist philosophy. Then too, Spengler has exerted some influence upon the Barthian theology of crisis. Just what the nature of this is I am unable to say. R. Birch Hoyle mentions Spengler along with Troeltsch, Otto, and the World War as forces that played upon Barth, particularly in the writing of his Romans Commentary. Spengler has probably modified to some degree the philosophy and history of the future. We are yet too, close to him to assert with any certainty the depth and width of his influence. Certainly he is one of the greatest of contemporary philosophers--a man with a breadth of outlook and a prophetic insight. But whether he is to be seen as but an eddy in the philosophic stream or as a strong current only time can decide.

Literature by and about Him. Spengler's philosophic productions include Untergang des Abendlandes, 1918 and 1922, translated as The Decline of the West; Preussentum und Sozialismus, 1920; Neubau des Deutschen Reiches, 1924; Politische Pflichten der deutschen Jugend, 1924; Mensch und Technik, 1932, translated as Man and Technics; Jahre der Entscheidung, 1933, translated as The Hour of Decision. In addition Spengler has written a number of articles some

few of which have been translated into English. Those translated have largely been in the nature of summaries of his various books.

Really significant literature about Spengler in English is scarce. A flood of reviews greeted the translation of each of his four volumes, but much of this was of a repetitious nature and of little importance. On the occasion of the translation of the first volume of The Decline of the West Knopf published a small pamphlet concerning Spengler which is still the most adequate biographical account. The only treatment of his philosophy as a whole is that of Goddard and Gibbons who in 1926 published a volume Civilization or Civilizations which aimed at a concise statement of his philosophy couched in popular language. The best criticism of Spengler appears in the latter half of Hale's Challenge to Defeat subtitled "modern man in Goethe's world and Spengler's century." To the author's knowledge these two books are the only two extensive treatments of Spengler in the English language. Mention of Spengler is made in a number of volumes, the most rewarding of which is Gooch's Germany in which Spengler is placed in the historical scene and briefly analyzed. Some few articles have appeared in the philosophical and technical journals which have dealt with specific phases of Spengler's philosophy.

IV. PLAN OF THE THESIS

In the following chapter Spengler's metaphysics will be examined. With an understanding of his basic principles, two chapters will be devoted to an analysis of world history. One will be concerned wholly with an analysis and interpretation up to the present era. The other will deal specifically with present history and a prophecy of the future of Western civilization. The presentation of Spengler's philosophy of history accomplished in these three chapters, the thesis will proceed with an examination and criticism of Spengler. The final chapter will be in the nature of a summary of Spengler's philosophy, a statement of its faults, an account of its abiding elements, and an attempt to place Spengler in the history of thought.

CHAPTER II

METAPHYSICS: "MORPHOLOGY OF WORLD HISTORY"

I. A NEW PHILOSOPHY

That Spengler regards his philosophy of history as new and to a marked degree original is evident from the opening paragraph of his magnum opus which plays the rôle of the Prologue to his entire work.

> In this book is attempted for the first time the venture of pre-determining history, of following the still untravelled stages in the destiny of a Culture, and specifically of the only Culture of our time and on our planet which is actually in the phase of fulfilment--the West-European-American.[1]

Conventional Scheme of World History. Most great contributions to the thought-progress of the world have grown out of a criticism of what has previously been expressed and held to be the truth. Spengler, in the presentation of his own philosophy of history, is no exception. He censors those historical thinkers who hold to that "incredibly jejune and meaningless scheme, which has, however, entirely dominated our historical thinking"[2]--namely, that history can be divided into "Ancient", "Medieval," and "Modern."

Origin. The idea of history from which Spengler

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1. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 3.
2. Ibid., 16.

revolts is well illustrated by the work of H. G. Wells who conceives of history as almost a straight line progressing from savagery to modernity. This scheme of history is seen first appearing in Persian and Jewish religion after Cyrus, receiving an apocalyptic sense in the teaching of the Book of Daniel with its four world-eras, and being developed into a world history by the religions of the East after the first century, particularly the Gnostic systems. Here history was believed to be a dualistic process of world-creation and world-decay. History was at a standstill. "It presented a self-contained antithesis, with equilibrium as its outcome and a unique divine act as its turning point."[3]

This conception of history was adopted by other cultures than the Magian, as Spengler calls the Arabian, in which it had originated, and a third epoch was added--modern times. Here begins the idea of progress and the notion of history as linear development. History was seen as having a fulfillment and culmination in modern times. Western consciousness felt a sort of finality to be inherent in its own appearance. Some formula arrived at in recent times,--"'Age of Reason,' Humanity, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, enlightenment, economic progress, national freedom, the conquest of nature, or

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3. Ibid., 19.

world peace,"[4]-- was adopted as a criterion by which all history was to be judged. Such a procedure would of necessity make modern times the crowning event of the universe. In the light of such conceptions we have Architecture discussed from "Rameses to Rockefeller;"[5] Painting, from the Egyptians to the Impressionists; Music, from Homer to Bayreuth; and Social Organization, from Lake Dwellings to Socialism. Everything was seen in terms of progress.

> This was the great catchword of last century. Men saw history before them like a street on which, bravely and ever forward, marched "mankind"--meaning by that term the white races, or more exactly the inhabitants of their great cities, or more exactly still the "educated" amongst them.
> But whither? For how long? And what then?[6]

Weakness. Spengler declares such a scheme to be utterly meaningless and artificial. It has served its purpose as a skeleton upon which historical data could be hung but has now at last exhausted its usefulness. It is an altogether too limited idea of history and can no longer be stretched to encompass the fast unreeling centuries or to embrace the vast volume of historical material. To still cling to this adumbrated scheme of things necessitates ignoring with Hegel those peoples which do not fit

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4. Ibid., 20.
5. Charles Harris Whitaker, The Story of Architecture: From Rameses to Rockefeller. New York: Halycon House, 1934.
6. Spengler, MT, 12.

into the plan, and with Ranke of determining with scientific tact which historical developments shall be taken into account.

A logical difficulty is obvious in the conventional view of world history. It is assumed that universals exist for all mankind. On such a basis it would be quite possible as well as plausible to trace the development of ideas and concepts through the course of centuries. But such universals do not exist.

> There are no "men-in-themselves.". . . But only men of a time, of a locality, of a race, of a personal cast, who contend in a battle with a given world and win through or fail, while the universe around them moves slowly on with a godlike unconcern.[7]

Universal categories of thought do not even exist. Western categories of thought are as incomprehensible to the Russian as are those of the modern Chinaman or ancient Greek to the Westerner. The typical Western thinker lacks "insight into the historically relative character of his data, which are expressions of one specific existence and one only."[8]

A second difficulty is encountered when one shifts from abstract thought to actual existence. Summarily stated it is this: Europe is not the center of gravity. What significance can Nietzsche's Superman have for Islam, Dante for Tolstoi, Parsifal for a Japanese peasant, Ibsen

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7. Ibid., 15f.
8. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 23.

for a Turkish woman? All of these are local and temporary values limited to a passing or transient group. What has hitherto been thought and said in the West is of necessity narrow and dubious. Men have sought for the answer to the question, failing to realize that many questioners imply many answers.

> . . . Any philosophical question is really a veiled desire to get an explicit affirmation of what is implicit in the question itself, that the great questions of any period are fluid beyond all conception, and that therefore it is only by obtaining a group of historically limited solutions and measuring it by utterly impersonal criteria that the final secrets can be reached.[9]

Goethe's Historical Method. In the preface to the revision of his masterpiece, Spengler refers to "those to whom I owe practically everything."[10] One of the two named is Goethe, to whom Spengler gives credit for his method. In opposition to "these arbitrary and narrow schemes," Spengler puts forward the "natural" as conceived by Goethe. "That which Goethe called Living Nature is exactly that which we are calling here World-history, world-as-history."[11] As an artist, Goethe portrayed life and development, the thing becoming rather than the thing-become. In his mind the world-as-mechanism stood opposed to the world-as-organism, dead nature to living nature, law to form. Goethe hated mathematics. "As naturalist,

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9. Ibid., 25.
10. Ibid., xiv.
11. Ibid., 25.

every line he wrote was meant to display the image of a thing-becoming, the 'impressed form' living and developing."[12] The methods used by Goethe for such research were sympathy, observation, comparison, immediate and inward certainty, intellectual flair. These and no others, echoes Spengler, are the methods of historical research.

As youth, growth, maturity and decay are inherent in any commonly recognized biological or botanical organism, so also are they inherent in the nature of any given Culture. The task of the historian is to see the Destiny in nature and not the Causality. To understand world-history it is necessary to set forth each Culture as a self-contained phenomenon embodying and expressing its soul. A comparison of these inner expressions ("a group of historically limited solutions") on the basis of objective descriptions: youth, growth, maturity, and decay ("utterly impersonal criteria") should yield an understanding of world-history.

Ptolemaic and Copernican Systems. It will be well to contrast the two historical schemes advanced. The first Spengler classifies as the Ptolemaic system which sees the West-European Culture as the center about which revolve all the other Cultures. The second system, following the figure, is the Copernican discovery which

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12. Ibid., 25.

admits no privileged position to any other Culture but sees them all as separate worlds of dynamic beings. Spengler portrays each lyrically:

> I see, in place of that empty figament [figment] of one linear history which can only be kept by shutting one's eyes to the overwhelming multitude of the facts, the drama of a number of mighty cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound throughout its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in its own image; each having its own idea, its own passion, its own life, will and feeling, its own death. . . . Each Culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay, and never return. . . . I see world-history as a picture of endless formations and transformations, of the marvelous waxing and waning of organic forms. The professional historian, on the contrary, sees it as a sort of tapeworm industriously adding on to itself one epoch after another.[13]

Basic Implications of this Idea. Three basic implications are inherent in this organic or morphological conception of history. First, history does not consist in a single line of development but in a series of distinct cultures. To phrase it poetically, history is not to be thought of in terms of Tennyson's "one far-off divine event" but rather in Browning's "life after life in unlimited series." Secondly, each culture goes through the same pattern of growth and development and final decay. Thirdly, a Morphology of History suggests a method for the identification of uniquely occurring events within chronologically parallel forms. These basic implications will

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13. Ibid., 21-22.

come up for consideration again. For the moment attention is directed to the task of history.

The Task of History. History is faced with a two-fold problem: first, to predetermine the future; secondly, to reconstruct the past. Both aspects of this task may be accomplished by the homologous method, a term borrowed from biology to signify morphological equivalence. Cultures conceived as organisms can be interpreted and compared by the same means. Historical data will be compared by means of "contemporary" events. This term refers to two historical facts occurring in the same relative positions in their respective Cultures and possessing the same equivalent importance. On the basis of the fact that all Cultures undergo the same period of development, maturity, and decay; it follows that if one Culture is understood, others can be interpreted as they have already passed through or will pass through the same stages of existence.

II. THE MEANING OF NUMBER

A momentary return to the contrast of the two systems of world history presented in the previous section will recall the fact that one of the criticisms passed by Spengler on the conventional scheme of world history was its basis on the false assumption of the existence of universals. In Spengler's positive presentation of the

organic conception of history he emphasizes continually that each Culture has its own image, idea, and new possibilities of self expression. The nature of the expression depends on the ideas inherent within the soul of a Culture. Basic in the self of any piven person of a Culture is a concept of number. Number is the primary element on which all mathematics rests. Mathematics holds a peculiar position among the creations of the mind. It is a science, an art, and a metaphysics. The world of numbers shows forth the style of a Soul. Now if any universal exists at all, it certainly should be that of number--an apparent permanent and eternal concept. But says Spengler:

> There is not, and cannot be, number as such. There are several number worlds as there are several Cultures. We find an Indian, an Arabian, a Classical, a Western type of mathematical thought and, corresponding with each, a type of number--each type fundamentally peculiar and unique, an expression of a specific world-feeling, a symbol having a specific validity which is even capable of scientific definition, a principle of ordering the Become which reflects the essence of one and only one Soul, viz., the soul of that particular Culture. Consequently, there are more mathematics than one.[14]

We pass now to a discussion of the number-concepts of three of the best known Cultures.

Classical Number. Classical number came about as a new mathematic when the Pythagoreans arrived at the idea that number is the essence of all things. The Classical

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14. Ibid., 59.

mathematic was fulfilled by the second century A.D. and so vanished. Paramount in the Classical mathematic was the proposition that number was the essence of all things perceptible to the senses. Number was seen as a measure. ". . . It contains the whole world feeling of a soul passionately devoted to the 'here' and the 'now.' Measurement in this sense means the measurement of something near and corporeal."[15] Mathematics for the Classical world was seen only as the theory of relations of magnitude, dimension, and form between bodies. At bottom the Classical mathematic was solid geometry. Numbers were conceived as units of measure, as magnitude, lengths, or surfaces. For the Classical mind no other sort of extension was imaginable. Classical number, seen as a thought-process dealing solely with visibly limitable and tangible units, knew only positive and whole numbers. Negative numbers and decimals were not part of their system. These ideas, though in existence in Classical times and known to the Greeks, were not accepted.

Arabian Number. With Diophantus about 250 A.D. came a new number-feeling, or new limit-feeling in regard to the actual. While Diophantus did not create algebra (the science of undefined magnitudes), he did bring it into expression within the Classical framework.

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15. Ibid., 63.

> He did not widen the idea of number as magnitude, but (unwittingly) eliminated it. No Greek could have stated anything about an undefined number a or an undenominated number 3--which are neither magnitudes nor lines--whereas the new limit-feeling sensibly expressed by numbers of this sort at least underlay, if it did not constitute, Diophantine treatment.[16]

The Magian or Arabian Culture conceived of an absolute number without the unit, an algebraic figure x which leaves both unit and number undefined. Contrasted with the Classical Culture, the Magian Culture contained both negative and imaginary numbers.

Western Number. Descartes in his geometry which appeared in 1637 conceived a new number idea which emancipated geometry from optically-realizable constructions and from measured and measurable lines generally. Number came to play the rôle of function and pure relation. By virtue of this number concept the Western or Faustian[17] world-picture "is an actualizing of an indefinite space in which things visible appear very nearly as realities of a lower order, limited in the presence of the illimitable."[18]

While Classical mathematic was limited to a consideration of the properties of individual bodies and their boundary surfaces, Western mathematic knows "only the abstract space-element of the point which can neither be seen, nor measured, nor yet named, but represents

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16. Ibid., 71.
17. So called because Goethe's Faust ideally represents the infinite striving and yearning of the Western soul.
18. Spengler, D W, Vol. I, 75.

simply a centre of reference."[19] A straight line for the Greeks was a measureable edge; for Western thought it is an indefinite series of points. The Classical mathematic was limited to what could be seen and grasped. The expression of this form feeling took its artistic expression in marble and bronze. The Western mathematic goes into a region of n dimensions. Its artistic expression is the bodiless music that brings pictures impossible to define visually. The Classical mind was limited to the visible. The gods of the locality in which the individual might be were always worshipped. The Greek language possessed no word for space. Home was what could be seen from the town citadel. The City-State was the smallest of political entities; the Classical temple, the smallest of all first-rate architectural forms.

III. PHYSIOGNOMIC AND SYSTEMATIC

We have seen in our previous discussion of Goethe that he portrayed life, development, becoming. To the world-as-mechanism he opposed the world-as-organism; to dead nature, living nature; to law, form. What Goethe meant by Living Nature is expressed by Spengler in the term world-as-history. What Goethe rebelled against as dead, mechanical nature is adopted by Spengler under the

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19. Ibid., 82.

term world-as-nature. Throughout all of Spengler's philosophy runs this fundamental dichotomy expressed in a variety of forms. A review in the London Times on the occasion of the translation of the first volume of The Decline of the West well summarizes this method of approach.

> Dr. Spengler works out his ideas by the aid of a series of antinomies, causality and destiny, space and time, nature and history, thought and will, all of which he characteristically relates both to one another and to the opposed personalities of Darwin and Goethe.
>
> To Darwin--the name is used as a symbol for the nineteenth century scientific mind--the external world appears as a multitude of facts systematized by the law of cause and effect. This Dr. Spengler calls the picture of the world-as-nature, and the reasoning which produces it is described as the logic of space. It is objected that just because it operates by dissection this method knocks life out of the universe. Accordingly Dr. Spengler sets over against it another logic, the logic of time, functioning psychologically by the will and not by thought; another picture, that of the world-as-history, and another principle, that of destiny. Appreciated in its time-setting, the external world is thus seen to be a process moving towards its predestined end by a law of internal necessity.[20]

To a more detailed account of some of these antinomies we now turn.

Nature and History. Man may picture the world under two possible views. One is that of Nature; the other is that of History. That which is known through the senses is Nature. It is symbolized by mathematical number, is mechanically defined, and is brought under the rule of

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20. Anon., London Times, Dec. 23, 1926, 942.

law. Nature is timeless. History is characterized by irreversibility. History is pure becoming and as such cannot be subjected to the domain of cause and effect, law and measure. To write history scientifically is a contradiction in terms. "Nature is to be handled scientifically, history poetically."[21]

> In Herr Spengler's view World History is nothing less than a "Second Cosmos," with a different content and a different law of movement to that of the first Cosmos, Nature, which has hitherto absorbed the attention of the philosophers. It has its own internal law--Schicksal or Destiny, as distinguished from the law of Causality, which rules the world of Nature. That is to say, historical time is not merely numerical succession, it is the registration of a life process like the years of a man's life. Until the unities that lie behind the time cycles of history have been grasped, it is useless to try and explain historical change by secondary causes. But if it is possible to attain an internal knowledge of history, if we could grasp intuitively the principle that gives unity to an age or to a culture, then history will take an organic form, and we shall be able to see in all historic phenomena the expression of a moulding force behind the play of circumstance.[22]

This unifying principle is to be found in the spirit of the great world cultures, but of that more will be said later.

Form and Law. The two basic principles in all world-picturing are those of Form (Gestalt) and Law (Gesetz). The first is characterized by mobility, becoming, and intuition; the latter by law and number. History is the original world-form while Nature is the

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21. Spengler, DW, Vol.I, 96.
22. Dawson, Rev. 1, 194f.

late world-form; for a becoming is always basic to a become. Nature is a late way of possessing actuality that is only reached in the late periods of great cultures. History is the naïve, youthful, instinctive way common to all men alike. "It is history that is the truly natural, and the mechanically-correct 'Nature' of the scientist that is the artificial conception of the world by soul."[23] History is marked by Direction; Nature by Extension. To each view of actuality certain modes of apprehension are proper. For History there is man-knowledge and vital experience. For Nature there is nature-knowledge and scientific experience.

> All modes of comprehending the world may, in the last analysis be described as Morphology. The Morphology of the mechanical and the extended, a science which discovers and orders nature-laws and causal relations, is called Systematic. The Morphology of the organic, of history and life and all that bears the sign of direction and destiny is called Physiognomic.[24]

Spengler illustrates this idea which is a further development of the contrast between History and Nature, Form and Law, Becoming and Become by means of a paradigm:[25]

	Soul		World
Existence	potentiality →	fulfilment (Life) →	actuality ↓
		becoming →	the become
Consciousness		direction	extension
		organic	mechanical
		symbol, portrait,	number, notion
World-image		History	Nature
		Rhythm, form.	Tension, law.
		Physiognomic.	Systematic.
		Facts	Truths

23. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 98. 24. Ibid., 100. 25. Ibid., 102

Cultures as Organisms. When one takes an historical view of actuality, he is first struck by the "countless shapes that emerge and vanish, pile up and melt again, a thousand-hued glittering tumult, it seems, of perfectly wilful chance. . . ."[26] A keener glance discloses pure or prime forms underlying the process of becoming, the Phenomenon of the Great Cultures. Through a study of these Cultures we can arrive at a serious philosophy of history. History will no longer be a series of tangible facts and dates, a mere sum of things past without inner necessity and destiny. Cultures are to be viewed as organisms, and world-history is to be seen as the collective biography of these organisms or Cultures. In studying a Culture it is necessary to distinguish between the idea of a Culture, seen as the sum total of its inner possibilities or as its soul, and the phenomenon of a Culture, its actual realization or body. History as physiognomic will be reached only by living into the Culture, by knowing its soul; not by dissecting and examining it. The latter is the Darwinian method of systematic natural science based on causality. A pure physiognomic historical method has not yet arisen--to this great problem the present age should turn its efforts.

The Great Cultures are as wave-cycles on the

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26. Ibid., 103.

boundless stream of human Being. Here can be briefly presented the outline of a culture.

> A Culture is born in the moment when a great soul awakens out of the proto-spirituality of ever childish humanity, and detaches itself, a form from the formless, a bounded and mortal thing from the boundless and enduring. It blooms on the soil of an exactly definable landscape, to which plantwise it remains bound. It dies when this soul has actualized the full sum of its possibilities in the shape of people, languages, dogmas, arts, states, sciences, and reverts into the proto-soul.[27]

Within the Culture itself are a series of epochs, successive stages in the realization and fulfillment of its inherent possibilities. When once the idea of a Culture is made actual in space, the Culture, being realized, hardens and mortifies to become Civilization. The fulfillment of the Culture is both its climax and decline. Each Culture, as the individual man, passes through age-phases: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. Again, the analogy of the seasons is used: Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter.

<u>Inner Form, Tempo, Duration.</u> By the inner form of a Culture is meant its style, the way in which it manifests and appears. Thus a study of a Culture will entail a knowledge of the particular art forms, costumes, administration, modes of transportation, etc. that that Culture chose as a means of best expressing its soul. By tempo is meant the rate of development or rhythm of a

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27. <u>Ibid</u>., 106.

Culture. Thus we can speak of the andante of the Classical and the allegro con brio of the Western Culture. By duration is meant the time span which a Culture embraces.

> Every Culture, every adolescence and maturing and decay of a Culture, every one of its intrinsically necessary stages and periods, has a definite duration, always the same, always recurring with the emphasis of a symbol.[28]

From this fact by the principles of homology and contemporary events[29] the past and future of any given Culture can be derived.

IV. DESTINY AND CAUSALITY

Logic, Organic and Inorganic. Destiny may be defined as the logic of becoming. The Destiny idea can be known only through life experience, not scientific experience; the power to see, not to calculate; depth rather than intellect. As Spengler states:

> There is an organic logic, an instinctive, dreamsure logic of all existence as opposed to the logic of the inorganic, the logic of understanding and of things understood--a logic of direction as against a logic of extension.[30]

Causality refers to that which can be brought out by an epistemological or physical system, by numbers, and by reasoned classification. It is the reasonable, the law-bound, the describable. In dealing with it we distinguish

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28. Ibid., 109f.
29. Supra, 24.
30. Spengler, DW, Vol. I., 117.

and so dissect and destroy. Causality is related to death. Destiny refers to an inner certainty, an inner feeling or intuition, that is indescribable. It is manifest in the work of the artist. It is creative and so is related to life.

Time and Destiny. Time is related to Space as is Destiny to Causality. Time is to be seen as an inner certainty, as Destiny itself. Through its characteristics of direction, irreversibility, and livingness Time is seen as the very meaning of the historical world-picture. As the become was grounded on the becoming so is Causality grounded on Destiny. "Causality is . . . des iny become, destiny made inorganic and modelled in reason-forms."[31] Causality is a conception of the mind conceived as an anti-Fate in an effort to overcome the inevitability of Destiny. Teleology is to be seen as a caricature of the Destiny Idea, and attempt to intellectualize it. In the Causal the morphological element is a principle while in Destiny it is an Idea; an idea that cannot be defined or described but can only be felt and inwardly lived. Destiny is the "existence-mode of the prime phenomenon"[32] and dominates the world-picture of History. Causality is the existence-mode of objects and dominates the world of

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31. Ibid., 119.
32. Ibid., 121.

Nature. Primitive man or the child does not possess the causality world of things, properties, and relations. They see actuality not systematically but physiognomically.

Symbols of Time. Each Culture possesses its own Destiny-Idea. Spengler calls the Classical form of the Destiny-Idea Euclidean. It is illustrated by OEdipus stumbling upon a situation. Desting is limited to the bodily, Euclidean existence. The Classical tragedy is that of a situation and of a moment. On the other hand is the Western Destiny-Idea called by Spengler the "analytical" and illustrated by Lear who matures inwardly toward a tragedy. Western tragedy deals with the soul. It is character drama and is infinitesimal in that it stretches into infinite time and space.

> It is Time that is the tragic, and it is by the meaning that it intuitively attaches to Time that one Culture is differentiated from another; and consequently "tragedy" of the grand order has only developed in the Culture which has most passionately affirmed, and in that which has most passionately denied, Time. The sentiment of the ahistoric soul gives us a Classical tragedy of the moment, and that of the ultrahistorical soul puts before us Western tragedy that deals with the development of a whole life.[33]

Many symbols of the varying conceptions of Time are to be found in a study of the expressions of the Cultures. Classical man had no device for telling time though such devices had been used previously by both

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33. Ibid., 130.

Egyptian and Babylonian Cultures. Neither archeology or astrology existed for the true Classical. No attempt was made to preserve the ruins of the past or to plan for the future. Memory, as a preserver of the personal, national, and world-historical past, and as a consciousness of becoming, was lacking. Contrasted with this is the West in which the hour, the minute, and the very second count. In the West the clock and belfry-tower were intensified to a marked degree. Were also developed the pocket-watch that constantly accompanies the individual.

Another symbol of revelatory importance is that of funeral customs. The Classical man disposed of his dead by burning--an act of destroying the body which no longer possessed a present. Opposed to this practice was that of the Egyptians who so preserved their dead that even today their exact features are recognizable. We of the West not only know the exact date of the birth and death of practically all great men since Dante, but we also preserve in museums all that remains of the past and collect data in millions of books.

The primitive feeling of care dominates the physiognomy of Western, Egyptian, and Chinese Cultures as opposed to its lack in Classical and Indian Cultures. In sex this is manifested by the emphasis on the birth-pangs and phallus symbols in the Demeter worship and Dionysiac cults of the Classical Culture which are both to be under-

stood as a stress on the moment. Opposed to this is the mother love of the West symbolized by the Mary-cult with the child (representative of the future) at the breast of the mother. The highest of all time symbols is the State seen as the inward form of a nation. "The Woman as Mother is, and the Man as Warrior and Politician makes, History."[34] The political organization of the Western, Egyptian, and Chinese Cultures in regard to the element of care for the future is vastly superior to the Classical and Indian Cultures which gave little thought for the morrow. The economic side of the Cultures presents a similar picture. In the former Cultures there was economic organization on a grand scale, but in the latter Cultures men managed from day to day without any plans for the future.

Destiny and Incident. Destiny is that logic of becoming that is felt behind the commonplace unities of existence. Incident deals with the less significant events of the day seen as mere manifestations of surface existence. The classification of any given event depends on the man who is impressed by it. Only the spiritual experiences of the individual soul or of the Culture soul can decide. Destiny cannot be known by any ordinary epistemological mode but only by an inward certainty--a kind of divination.

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34. Ibid., 137.

A knowledge of the inner form of history is not to be found in a survey of its incidents. Such a scrutiny of causal successions will make history appear as a "comedy of burlesque inconsequence."[35] Destiny does not need particular men, instances, or situations. While a given epoch may be necessary, while its inner form constitutes specific determination, the self-actualization in regard to details may assume a great variety of forms. The soul of a Culture must be actualized--history is the process of this actualization. As the soul of each Culture differs, so also will each style of existence differ as well as the incidents of that Culture. In the fulfillment of the inner logic of a Culture, the actualization of its ideas; certain turning points mark off epochs. These epochs may be classed as <u>impersonal</u> or anonymous, and <u>personal</u>.

<u>History and Science</u>. Historians, especially those of the past century, tried to interpret history on the scientific basis of cause and effect. Attempts were made to understand the Becoming by principles of the Become. History was put under the inexorable chain of cause and effect; and ideals of "world peace," "enlightenment," and "humanity" were set up to be realized by the "march of progress." Another diagram[36] can best illustrate the contrast of the two as well as relating them to previously

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35. <u>Ibid.</u>, 144.
36. <u>Ibid.</u>, 154.

stated antinomies.

Soul ⟶ World

Life, Direction Destiny-Experience The uniquely occurring and irrevocable "Fact"	Extension Causal Knowledge The constantly- possible "Truth"
Physiognomic tact(Instinct)	Systematic criticism(reason)
Consciousness as servant of Being The world-image of "History" Life-experience Image of the past Constructive Contemplation (Historian, Tragic Dramatist) to investigate Destiny Direction into the future Constructive Action (Statesman) to be Destiny.	Consciousness as master of Being The world-image of "Nature" Scientific methods Religion. Natural Science Theoretical: Myth and Dogma. Hypothesis. Practical: Cult. Technique

The Problem of Philosophy. With this background it is now possible to re-enunciate the task of philosophy in regard to history.[37]

> Before my eyes there seems to emerge, as a vision, a hitherto unimagined mode of superlative historical research . . . a comprehensive Physiognomic of all existence, a morphology of becoming for all humanity that drives onwards to the highest and last ideas; a duty of penetrating the world feeling not only of our proper soul but of all souls whatsoever that have contained grand possibilities and have expressed them in the field of actuality as grand Cultures. . . . To bring up, out of the web of world-happening, a millennium of organic culture-history as an entity and person, and to grasp the conditions of its inmost spirituality--such is the aim. . . .
>
> . . . There is a wondrous music of the spheres which wills to be heard and which a few of our

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37. Supra, 24, The Task of History.

deepest spirits will hear. The physiognomic of world-happening will become the last Faustian philosophy.[38]

V. SYMBOLISM AND SPACE-TIME PROBLEMS

The Macrocosm and Soul-Symbols. Historical research entails the discovery of the inner form and logic of the past cultures. This discovery can only be made on the basis of assuming an all embracing symbolism. Hence the method of investigation means the adoption of a metaphysics which sees everything as symbolic. The historian should not be interested in the world as it is, but in what it has signified to successive ages of men.

> Actuality--the world in relation to a soul--is for every individual the projection of the Directed upon the domain of the Extended--the Proper mirroring itself on the Alien; one's actuality then signifies itself.[39]

There is, then, no single, independent, external world, common to all; but rather, as many worlds as there are individuals or like-feeling groups of individuals. "This is the idea of the Macrocosm, actuality as the sum total of all symbols in relation to one soul. . . . All that is symbolizes."[40]

Space and Death. Symbols are things actualized or become and belong to the realm of the extended or of

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38. Spengler, DU, Vol. I, 159f.
39. Ibid., 164. By the terms "Proper" and "Alien" Spengler means feeling and perception respectively.
40. Ibid., 168.

space. A thing once realized is already in the past. It is passing, transient. That which enters the realm of the extended has begun and ended. Hence, the close relation that exists between space and death.

> To development belongs fulfilment--every evolution has a beginning, and every fulfilment is an end. To youth belongs age; to arising, passing; to life, death.[41]

In man death comes when the body becomes wholly matter, completely in space. All higher thought including religion, science, and philosophy has originated as a meditation upon death. "Every thing-become is mortal."[42] This includes people, languages, races, and Cultures--all are transient. The thing-become may exist in space, but its true meaning is lost to posterity.

> . . . Impermanence, the birth and the passing, is the form of all that is actual--from the stars, whose destiny is for us incalculable, right down to the ephemeral concourses on our planet. The life of the individual--whether this be animal or plant or man--is as perishable as that of peoples or Cultures. Every creation is foredoomed to decay, every thought, every discovery, every deed to oblivion.[43]

The Space Problem. Space is to be understood primarily as derived from the notion of depth. Depth (i.e., farness or distance) is a term used to describe the shift from the Proper to the Alien, from feeling to perception. "Depth is a representation of expression, of Nature, and with it begins the 'World.'"[44] The realm of the extended,

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41. Spengler, MT, 12f.
42. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 167.
43. Spengler, MT, 13f.
44. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 168.

Nature, is capable of infinite variety because it is the expression of individuals. Nature is "a function of the particular culture."[45]

Depth as Time. Here, lest I misconstrue Spengler, I quote him at some length.

> As becoming is the foundation of the become, continuous living history that of fulfilled dead nature, the organic that of the mechanical, destiny that of causal law and the causally settled, so too direction is the origin of extension. The secret of Life accomplishing itself which is touched upon by the word Time forms the foundation of that which, as accomplished, is understood by (or rather indicated to an inner feeling in us by) the word Space. Every extension that is actual has first been accomplished in and with an experience of depth, and what is primarily indicated by the word Time is just this process of extending, first sensuously (in the main, visually) and only later intellectually, into depth and distance, i.e., the step from the planar semi-impression to the macrocosmically ordered world-picture with its mysterious-manifest kinesis.[46]

Prime Symbols. By the prime symbol of a Culture is meant its conception of extension. Neither the child nor primitive man has a symbolic experience of depth or a grasp of the meaning of the external world. Life for both is a dreamlike continuum of sensations. With the awakening of the soul, distance and direction both reach living expression. The nature of the expression depends upon the inner Destiny implicit in the individual. This Destiny unites him with a particular Culture, the members of which are united by a common world-feeling and world-form. Con-

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45. Ibid., 169.
46. Ibid., 172.

comitant with the awakening of the soul comes the realization of distance and time, and the resultant birth of the external world through the symbol of extension. The symbol of extension fixes the style of a Culture and is the metaphysical medium or form through which the inner possibilities of the soul are expressed and realized.

The prime symbol does not actualize itself. Though operative in all forms of expression, it is not presented by these. In its innermost essence it is presented only to the feelings and not to the intellect. Words, themselves being symbols, cannot express it. We cannot, then, penetrate into the soul of a Culture. Each Culture has a secret language, comprehensible only to hi born on that Culture's native soil.

We have then a plurality of prime symbols, each emblematic of the depth-experience of a Culture through which its particular world becomes. These prime symbols never recur and are not transferable. The only means we have of insight into the soul of a Culture is through its various expressions.

> Culture, as the soul's total expression "become" and perceptible in gestures and works, as its mortal transient body, obnoxious to law, number and causality:
> As the historical drama, a picture in the whole picture of world-history:
> As the sum of grand emblems of life, feeling, and understanding:
> --this is the language through which alone a soul can tell of what it undergoes.[47]

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47. Ibid., 180.

We can describe the prime symbols of some of the better known Cultures though we ca not penetrate to their essences or have the same feelings for them as did the members of those Cultures. For the Classical Culture the conception of space or extension, the prime symbol, was a nothingness intervening between visible bodies. The visible bodies were like unto the little islands and promontories of the Aegean. For the Arabian Culture space was a cavern. The world was seen as existing under a vaulted heaven. For the West space was an infinity knowing no limits or bounds. For Russia, the dawning Culture, space is a plane. For Egypt space is a corridor or avenue like the Nile. For the Chinese Culture it is a maze wandering zig-zag like the Hwang-Ho.

<u>The Group of the Higher Cultures</u>. It is impossible to deal with all of the Cultures at length. Specific features of several will be presented in the following chapters. The following diagram, however, presents a general picture.[48]

Designation.	Date.	Early Locality.	Later Extension
Sumerian Akkadian.	3200-1700 B.C.	Persian Gulf.	Northwards to Babylonia.
Egypt.	2800?-1100 B.C.	Abydos.	Memphis, Heliopolis and M. of Nile.

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48. Goddard and Gibbons, CC, 6.

Designation.	Date.	Early Locality.	Later Extension
Hittite Assyrian.	1800-333 B.C.	Bogaz, Keuoi, Asia Minor.	Assyria, Persia, Babylonia.
Chinese.	1500? - 0 B.C.	Hoang-ho Valley.	Yang Tse-Kiang Valley.
Hindu.	1500-0 B.C.	Punjab.	India.
Classical.	1200B.C.-200 A.D.	Peloponnese, Asia Minor.	Roman Empire.
Arabian.	A.D. 0-1400	Syria, Asia Minor.	Spain to India including all south coast of Mediterranean, (the India of the Puranas).
Maya Civilization.	A.D. 200-1500, destroyed by Spaniards.	Yucatan.	Mexico, Central America, Peru.
West European.	A.D. 900-2300?	West Europe.	The World.
Russian.	A.D. 1800	Russia.	---

VI. SUMMARY AND TRANSITION

The Spenglerian metaphysics is marked by a return to Goethe's philosophy of nature as organism. The conventional idea of history is rejected as artificial. The scientific historians have borrowed from natural science the concept of causality and by means of it conceive of history as linear. Spengler revolts against this superimposition of formal logic, of mathematical number, of ideal possibility upon the organism of life. He proclaims his own philosophy as a Morphology of History. It is, Physiognomic (organic) as opposed to Systematic (mathe-

matical). History as organic unfolds according to its inherent properties which are correctly viewed not as laws but as forms. Hence, the enquiry of history should be the chronological study of these forms appearing in cultures as expression-media.

In the stream of history there appear certain prime phenomena, Cultures. Some ten have appeared thus far in the course of life. Each Culture is distinct and unique, but each proceeds according to a definite cycle. The distinction of each culture lies in the unique nature of its soul. Its existence consists in the actualization of its inward possibilities. The general cycle or process of actualization is the same in each case. The progressive realization or fulfillment of the possibilities of each Culture is its climax and decline. In its progressive realization the Culture passes through a life that culminates in old age and death, a year that ends in Winter. Insight into the soul of a Culture may be gained by analyzing its varied expression forms and finding in them all a prime symbol. This prime symbol is synonomous with that Culture's idea of space or extension--the medium through which it expresses and fulfills itself.

Spengler's philosophy is not exhausted by a perusal of his metaphysics. His metaphysical theory has a practical outcome and is formulated with a pragmatic end in mind. This has been touched upon already in <u>The Task of</u>

History and The Problem of Philosophy. History is to predetermine the future and to reconstruct the past. This task will be essayed in the two following chapters, one devoted to an interpretation of past history and the other to a forecast of future history. Spengler's own approved homologuous method with its "contemporary" events will be used in conducting the survey.

CHAPTER III

ASPECTS OF PAST HISTORY

We have discussed the metaphysical background of the Cultures and have found the world-feeling of each to be represented by a Prime Symbol. In this chapter we turn to the expression of this world-feeling in various aspects of human activity. This realization will be viewed in three forms: (1)Spiritual expression through religion and philosophy, (2)Artistic expression, (3)Political expression. Each of these forms will be treated under a main heading. Within each heading the development of the form of expression will be traced, not of one Culture alone, but of several simultaneously. The discussion will center about "contemporaneous" events in the progressive realization of the souls of several Cultures.

I. "CONTEMPORARY" SPIRITUAL EPOCHS

Introduction. The basic feelings of religion are love and fear. The fear is of two types. One, the fear of Space, gives rise to the noumena of the world-as-nature and the cults of gods. The other, the fear of Time, produces the noumena of life, of sex and breed, of the State, centering on ancestor-worship. These two aspects are expressed in the difference between Taboo and Totem.

Freedom from fear is a fundamental notion in every religion. This is sought by means of understanding causes. "God is man's refuge from the Destiny which he can feel and livingly experience, but not think on, or figure, or name . . . ."[1] Causal knowledge in the world-as-nature establishes truths which give man an inward liberation, consolation, and salvation from the facts of Destiny. This triumph over nature takes the forms of theory and technique or in religious language myth and cult. The form of control in religious technique is the precept, in scientific technique, law. The first outcome of man's will-to-understand is faith. This is followed by knowledge or rather the belief in knowledge, and the dominance of the critical spirit. The aim of both faith and science is not to experience life but to know the world-as-nature. The ultimate form of religious technique and power are ethics and morals. "Moral is a conscious and planned causality of the conduct . . . ."[2] Morals are contrary to and see as evil the whole world-as-history.

With this preliminary survey of religion before us we may turn to an attempted morphology of religious history. "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis."[3] This holds good even for the eternal truths of religion. To a study of the spiritual epochs in the various Cultures we

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1. Spengler, DU, Vol. II, 267.
2. Ibid., 272.
3. "All we see before us passing
   Sign and symbol is alone." Faust II (Anster tr.)

now turn.

Spring. This general period is characterized by the rural-intuitive spirit of great creations of the "newly-awakened dream-heavy Soul." Within this period two distinct epochs may be distinguished. The first is one marked by a dominance of myth and legend; the second, by scholasticism which is an early metaphysical and mystical shaping of the new world-outlook. The pre-Cultural age is religiously characterized by throngs of primitive population living in fear and awe of a chaotic environment which no man can logically master. All the world is dark and unresolved. The primitive religiousness is of an organic nature--it penetrates everything. Later religions did not develop from it but are something different. The Cultural religions are clearer and more intellectual being marked by problems and ideas, theories and techniques. Primitive religions are homeless; they are not linked to any locality.

Myth and Legend. Religion of every Culture appears as a sudden mutation.

> It begins, in every case, like a great cry. The dull confusedness of terror and defence suddenly passes into a pure awakening of inwardness that blossoms up, wholly plantwise, from mother earth, and sees and comprehends the depth of the light-world with one outlook.[4]

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4. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 279.

This early expression springs in all the Cultures from a townless country-side, out of villages, hovels, sanctuaries, solitary cloisters, and hermitages.

The Indian expression during this early stage was the Vedic religion and the Aryan hero-tales. Contemporary in the Classical Culture was Homer and the Hercules and Theseus legends. The god-head revealed by this latter Culture was the human-formed body of a hero as a mediator between man and god. The religion of the people is revealed in the myths, images, and figures about the person of Demeter, the bearing-mother; about Persephone and Gaia; about Dionysius, the begetter; chthonian and phallic cults, festivals and mysteries of life and death. Orgy and sacred prostitution were for this Culture what asceticism and celibacy were to the West. In harmony with the Prime Symbol of the Classical Culture the religion was based about the veneration of the body.

The first premonition of the Arabian Culture came about 700 B.C. with the prophetic religions of the Persians, Jews, and Chaldeans. A second great wave came with the Apocalyptic religions after 300 B.C. The actual rise of the Arabian Culture came about the time of Caesar with the birth of the great religions of salvation. The Grand Myth was also an item in this Culture. Religious and national heroism were not separated.

> The prophet merges with the fighter, and the story of the great Sufferer rises to the rank of a national epic. The powers of light and darkness, fabulous beings, angels and devils, Satan and the good spirits wrestle together; all nature is a battle-ground from the beginning of the world to its annihilation. Down below in the world of mankind are enacted the adventures and sufferings of the heralds, the heroes, and the martyrs of religion.[5]

Each nation connected with this Culture had its heroic saga. Zarathustra, the Persian prophet, inspired an epic poetry of grand outlines. The suffering of Jesus became the veritable epic of the Christian nation. With it grew up a chain of legends concerning his childhood. The figure of the Mother of God and the deeds of the Apostles became the subjects for widespread romances. The Jewish Haggada and the Targums brought together a great number of legends about Saul, David, and the patriarchs. Cult-legends and founder-stories (lives of Pythagoras, Hermes, Apollonius of Tyana) were also seized upon by the imagination of this Culture.

The Western Culture which came into being about 900 A.D. had its beginning when "there appeared on the unpromising soil of France, suddenly and swiftly mounting, Germanic-Catholic Christianity."[6] Reflecting its inner soul the Western Culture conceived of God as infinite, as eternal, as ever-present activity, as causality--never in terms that would be comprehensible by human eyes. Expres-

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5. Ibid., 250.
6. Ibid., 288.

sions of the Western Soul are the God-legends of the Eddas; the German hero-tales of Siegdried and Gudrun, Dietrich and Wayland; the chivalry-tales of King Arthur and the Round Table, the Holy Grail, Tristan, Percival, and Roland. Central in the mythology and legendary material of the early Western world were the Mary-myths and the Devil-myths. The Devil penetrates the whole realm of nature in an army of goblins, night spirits, witches, werewolves. Black magic, devils' masses and witches' sabbaths, night feasts on mountain-tops, magic draughts and charm-formulae were all property of this Culture.

> To-day we simply no longer know what a myth is; for it is no mere aesthetically pleasing mode of representing something to oneself, but a piece of the most lively actuality that mines every corner of the waking-consciousness and shakes the innermost structure of being.[7]

Scholasticism. Still in the Spring period of the Culture comes Scholasticism marked by a systematization of thw world-outlook. Spengler gives little information in regard to this phase in Indian Culture beyond stating that such an epoch is preserved in the oldest parts of the Vedas. Knowledge of the contemporary period in Classical Culture is also fragmentary. The reason for this paucity, Spengler suggests, is that the Homeric religion persisted because it was dominated by a knightly and not a priestly

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7. Ibid., 290.

religion. The priestly or earliest Classical religion is hidden behind such names as Calchas, Tiresias, Orpheus, and (probably) Huma. This earliest religion was not written down but was preserved by an oral tradition.

> As the songs of Achilles and Odysseus were dying down everywhere, a grand, strict, doctrine arose at the famous old cult-places, a mysticism and scholasticism with developed educational methods and a secret oral tradition as in India. But all that is buried, and the relics of later times barely suffice to prove that it once existed.[8]

Of Arabian Scholasticism Spengler says:

> The flowering of epic poetry is past, and the mystical penetration and dogmatic analysis of the religious material begin. The doctrines of the new churches are brought into theological systems. Heroism yields to Scholasticism, poetry to thought, the seer and the seeker to the priest.[9]

The early Scholasticism includes the author of the Gospel of John, Valentinus, Bardesanes, and Marcion, the Apologists and the early Fathers up to Irenaeus and Tertullian, the last Tannaim up to Rabbi Jehuda, the completer of the Mishna, and the Neopythagoreans and Hermetics of Alexandria. The full Scholasticism came with Neoplatonism, with Clement and Origen, the first Amoraim, and the creators of the newer Avesta. This was also the time for

> . . . the fixation of canon and text for the New Testament by Christian, for the Hebrew Old Testament by Jewish, and for the Avesta by Persian, scholars.[10]

At this same time there began a separation between this

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8. Ibid., 283f.
9. Ibid., 250.
10. Ibid., 71.

higher religiousness and the piety of the countryside peasant that persisted through the Culture's entire life.

Spengler devotes few words to Western Scholasticism. That identity of theology and philosophy characteristic of the period and well known to the student of philosophy is clearly described.

> At the beginning of every springtime period, philosophy, intimately related to great architecture and religion, is the intellectual echo of a mighty metaphysical living, and its task is to establish critically the sacred causality in the world-image seen with the eye of faith. . . . In this springtime, thinkers are, not merely in spirit but actually in status, priests. Such were the Schoolmen and the Mystics of the Gothic . . . .[11]

Important names of this era include Thomas Acquinas (d. 1274), Duns Scotus (d. 1308), Dante (d. 1321), and Eckhart (d. 1329). The last name beings to mind Mysticism, a dominant force in this epoch. The age was one of deep and painful meditation, of in-looking and resultant sense of guilt. Mysticism's great longing was to "lose created form (as Heinrich Seuse [Suso] said), to be rid of self and all things (Meister Eckhart), to abandon selfness (Theologie deutsch)."[12]

Summer. The summer of a Culture is a time of ripening consciousness and the earliest urban and critical stirrings. It can be discussed under four epochs: (1) Reformation, (2) Pure Philosophy, (3) New Number

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11. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 365.
12. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 292.

Concept, (4)Puritanism.

Reformation. By Reformation is to be understood internal popular opposition to the great springtime forms and attempts to restore religion to its imagined original purity.

> In all Cultures, Reformation has the same meaning--the bringing back of the religion to the purity of its original idea as this manifested itself in the great centuries of the beginning. In no Culture is this movement missing. . . . It means, further, that the city and with it the city-spirit are gradually freeing themselves from the soul of the countryside, setting up in opposition to the latter's all-power and reconsidering the feelings and thoughts of the primitive pre-urban time with reference to its present self.
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> . . . . . .
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> However widely the Reformations of the various Cultures may differ amongst themselves, the purpose is the same for all--to bring the faith, which had strayed all too far into the world-as-history and time-secularism . . . back into the realm of Nature, clean waking-consciousness, and pure cause-controlled and cause-pervaded Space; out of the world of economics ("wealth") into that of science ("poverty"), out of patrician and cavalier society (which was also that of Renaissance and Humanism) into that of spirituals and ascetics; and lastly (as significant as it is impossible) out of the political ambitions of vestmented human thoroughbreds into the realm of holy Causality that is not of this world.[13]

In the Classical Culture the Dionysiac movement is analogous to what is called the Reformation in Western Culture. Spengler illustrates with the account of Kleisthenes of Sikyon "who forbade the cult of the town's hero Adrastos and the reading of the Homeric poems . . . ."[14]

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13. Ibid., 295-297.
14. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 33.

In the Classical Culture is found also the Orphic movement of the seventh century B.C. designed as a reformation attempt. Its traces, however, have been lost. Reformation was secured often by the aid of a tyrannical state. The Tyrannis

> . . . backed the Dionysiac and Orphic cults against the Apollinian; thus in Attica Pisistratus forced the worship of Dionysus on the peasantry . . . and in Rome it was almost certainly in the time of the Tarquins that the trinity Demeter (Ceres)-Dionysus-Kore was introduced.[15]

In the Arabian Culture the role of the Reformation was taken by such men and groups as Augustine (d. 430), the Nestorians (about 430), the Monophysites (about 450) and Mazdak (about 500). This was the time of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon--attempts to purify the faith and lead it back to its origins.

In the West Luther was the last of a series of great reformers that led from the ascetics of the open land to the city priests. The stream of reformers flow through Cluny, Arnold of Brescia, Joachim of Floris, the Franciscans, Jacopone da Todi, Wyclif, Hus, Savonarola, Luther, Karlstadt, Zwingli, Calvin, and Loyola. They all fought the Church because it asked too little; they wanted to bring it to inward fulfillment. They signify not a new beginning but an ending. Luther completely liberated the Faustian personality by removing the priest who had

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15. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 386.

formerly stood between it and the Infinite. Protestantism thus destroyed the visible link with the Infinite that all men had had. Some strong souls could still win through to God, but the weaker gradually lost out. For Luther everyone who fought the battle of life against the Devil fought alone. The Reformation abolished the whole of the bright side of the Gothic myth--the cult of Mary, the veneration of the saints, the relics, the pilgrimages, the mass. The other side, the Devil-myth, remained to rise to its supreme horror. In place of the abolished Mary-myth there was a return to elements of ancient German myth. It was manifest in belief in dwarfs, bogies, nixies, house-sprites, and sweeping clouds of the disembodied. Its cultic manifestations are seen in rites, offerings, and conjurings. In Germany the saga took the place of the Mary-myth, Mary was now Frau Holde; in place of the saints appeared Eckhart. In England arose "Bible-fetichism."

Pure Philosophy. In the Classical Culture the beginnings of a purely philosophical form of world feeling dates from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in the work of the Pre-Socratics. These thinkers were not limited to the intellectual realm but could grasp and command actuality as merchants and politicians. In contemporary Arabian Culture is the Byzantine, Jewish, Syrian, Coptic, and Persian literature of the sixth and seventh centuries

A. D.

In the Western Culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the names of Galileo, Bacon, Descartes, Bruno, Böehme, and Leibnitz appear. This period is to be seen as a breaking away from the age of Scholasticism and of Reformation. Here begins intellectual creativeness. The most typical product is free science. Luther had seen learning as the "handmaid of theology," and Calvin had had the free-thinking doctor Servet burned. Springtime thought had had as its motive the justification of faith by criticism. "If criticism did not succeed, the critical method must be wrong. Knowledge was faith justified, not faith converted."[16] But in the late period the critical powers had become so great that affirmation was no longer sufficient--it was supplemented and even replaced by testing. The causality of human life, the world-around, and the process and meaning of cognition became problems. Western natural-science developed within the framework of philosophy and became not the "handmaid of theology" but "<u>the servant of the technical Will-to-Power</u>."[17] Western science was based on a practical <u>mechanics</u> symbolized by the <u>machine</u> and the <u>working hypothesis</u>. Perpetual motion became the great problem for these early thinkers, these "Vikings of the mind."

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16. <u>Ibid</u>., 300.
17. <u>Ibid</u>., 300.

New Number Concept. From the development of pure philosophy came the formation of a new mathematic and a conception of number as copy and content of the world-form. We have already surveyed this epoch in the previous chapter where we discussed The Meaning of Number.[18] The Classical mind understood number as magnitude manifested in proportion. Geometry and arithmetic were known to this Culture. The Pythagoreans dating from 540 B.C. are important for the conception of classical number as magnitude. In the Magian Culture is encountered the indefinite number manifested in algebra. Western Culture conceived of number as function understood through the medium of analytics. Outstanding names here are Descartes, Pascal, Fermat, Newton, and Leibnitz.

Puritanism. The relation of Puritanism to Pure Philosophy is clearly stated by Spengler who in discussing criticism says:

> Every Late philosophy contains this critical protest against the uncritical intuitiveness of the Spring. But this criticism of the intellect that is sure of its own superiority affects also faith itself and evokes the one great creation in the field of religion that is the peculiarity of the Late period--every Late period--namely, Puritanism.[19]

Puritanism in Classical Culture is manifested in the work of the Pythagoreans. The Pythagoreans were a mystery cult. Pythagoras, the founder, was not a

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18. Supra, 24.
19. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 302.

philosopher, but a saint, prophet, and founder of a fanatic religious society that forced its truth on the people about it by all conceivable political and military means. The Pythagoreans in the earnestness of their gospel of duty destroyed the gay city of Sybaris and branded it for ever as the city without morals. Their religion consisted of a purified and fortified myth united with rigorous ethical precepts. By this religion they were assured that they would attain salvation before all other men. "Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be no more a mortal but a God"[20]--so reads one of their ancient tablets.

Puritanism in Arabian Culture took the form of Mohammedanism. Like the Pythagoreans which preceded them and the Puritans that followed, their teachings were "enthusiasms of a sober spirit, cold intensities, dry mysticism, pedantic ecstasy"[21] yet with a wild piety springing up within them. Theirs was the assurance that "The Monasticism of Islam is the religious war." Islam arose as a new religion in the sense that it was a prolongation of the great early religions. In Islam the Magian Culture found its true expression.

Puritanism in Western Culture had two forms. One manifested itself in the Bible-firm, psalm singing ranks of Cromwell's Independents as they rode at Naseby and

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20. Ibid., 305.
21. Ibid., 302.

Marston Moor against the "Philistines" and "Amalekites." It was they who put an end to "Merry England" of Shakespeare's times. The other was the Jansenist movement of Port Royal under Loyola. Both were characterized by deadly earnestness and joyless and sour ethics.

Autumn. This third major period centers about the intelligence of the city and marks the zenith of strict intellectual creativeness. It will be discussed under three epochs: (1) Age of Enlightenment, (2) Zenith of Mathematical Thought, (3) Great Conclusive Systems of Thought.

Age of Enlightenment. This age is one of belief in the almightiness of reason, the cult of "Nature," and rational religion. In Puritanism is hidden the seed of Rationalism, and within a few generations it springs forth. It is but a step from Cromwell to Hume. A few great cities become the centers of intellectual achievement--the Athens of Socrates, the Bagdad of the Abassid age, London and Paris of the eighteenth century. The data of critical understanding alone is believed. In the Springtime men could utter "Credo quia absurdum," but now the incomprehensible and therefore irrational is rejected as valueless and is scorned as superstition or as metaphysics. The old religion is necessary for the uneducated, but wisdom with its priests, the philosophers, and its adherents, the educated, is the only religion for the en-

lightened man. The cult of nature is characteristic of this epoch. Men go "back to nature" but to a nature that is incomprehensible to the peasant, to a nature that is proved and is accessible only to the intellect. Metaphysics becomes a comprehended mechanics and natural religion, rational religion, and Deism appear. Philosophy, ordered by the sensibility of science, turns to epistemology and a critique of nature and a critique of values. Myths which had once been so vital are explained away by euhemeristic interpretations. Euhemerius could tell the Classical world that the gods were but deified mortals and that the myths were but traditional accounts of historical personages and events. The West, in like vein, saw Hell as a guilty conscience, the Devil as evil desire, and God as the beauty of nature.

Nature and Virtue are the watchwords of this age--Nature is a reasonable mechanism, and Virtue is knowledge. The sage is the ideal of the educated. He goes "back to nature"--to Attic gardens or Indian groves--and proclaims the way of the Golden Mean.

> His askesis consists in a judicious depreciation of the world in favor of meditation. The wisdom of the enlightenment never interferes with comfort. . . . Virtue with Wisdom at its back is a sort of secret enjoyment, a superfine intellectual egoism.[22]

Besides this scholasticism of sane reason there was a rationalistic mysticism of the educated. This is the

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22. Ibid., 307.

Pietism of Germany and the Methodism of England. The Pietists of Islam appeared in Sufism. Pietistic also were the Indian lay preachers before the time of Buddha. In China appeared Lao-tse. The Classical World had the Cynic mendicants and itinerant preachers, and the Stoic tutors, domestic chaplains, and confessors.

Zenith of Mathematical Thought. Following the Age of Enlightenment comes the high-point of mathematical thought. The significance of this period for the age is remarkable.

> The brilliant period of the Baroque mathematic--the counterpart of the Ionian--lies substantially in the 18th Century and extends from the decisive discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz through Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, and D'Alembert to Gauss. Once this immense creation found wings, its rise was miraculous. Men hardly dared to believe their senses. The age of refined skepticism witnessed the emergence of one seemingly impossible truth after another. Regarding the theory of the differential coefficient, D'Alembert had to say: "Go forward, and faith will come to you." Logic itself seemed to raise objections and to prove foundations fallacious. But the goal was reached.
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> This century was a very carnival of abstract and immaterial thinking, in which the great masters of analysis and, with them, Bach, Gluck, Haydn and Mozart--a small group of rare and deep intellects--revelled in the most refined discoveries and speculations, from which Goethe and Kant remained aloof; and in point of content it is exactly paralleled by the ripest century of the Ionic, the century of Eudoxus and Archytas (440-350) and, we may add, of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, and the Acropolis buildings--in which the form-world of Classical mathematic and sculpture displayed the whole fullness of its possibilities, and so ended.[23]

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23. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 77f.

Great Conclusive Systems of Thought. We have seen how with the setting in of the Late period that philosophy becomes urban and worldly. It frees itself from religion and even makes religion the object of epistemological criticism. Its prime problem is that of knowing.

> The urban spirit turns to look at itself, in order to establish the proposition that there is no higher judgment-seat of knowing beyond itself, and with that thought draws nearer to higher mathematics and instead of priests we have men of the world, statesmen and merchants and discoverers, tested in high places and by high tasks, whose ideas about thought rest upon deep experience of life. Of such are the series of great thinkers from Thales to Protagoras and from Bacon to Hume, and the series of pre-Confucian and pre-Buddha thinkers of whom we hardly know more than the fact that they existed.[24]

These series of great thinkers are culminated by such men as Kant and Aristotle. These two mark the exhaustion of Scholasticism which after them degenerated into a routine profession. The Mystical side of thought reached its zenith in Plato and Goethe. In the Arabian Culture Alfarabi (d. 950) and Avicenna (d. ca. 1000) represent the conclusive systems of thought. In the West the great systems continued beyond Kant and Goethe to Schelling, Hegel, and Fichte.

It is now possible to secure a broad view of the history of thought--a morphology of philosophy.

> In every Culture, thought mounts to a climax, setting the questions at the outset and answering them with ever-increasing force of intellectual expression . . .

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24. Ibid., 365.

> until exhausted; then it passes into a decline in which the problems of knowing are in every respect stale repetitions of no significance. There is a metaphysical period, originally of a religious and finally of a rationalistic cast--in which thought and life still contain something of chaos, an unexploited fund that enables them effectively to create--and an ethical period in which life itself, now become megalopolitan, appears to call for enquiry and has to turn the still available remainder of philosophical creative-power onto its own conduct and maintenance. In the one period life reveals itself, the other has life as its object. The one is "theoretical" (contemplative) in the grand sense, the other perforce practical.[25]

We have observed the end of metaphysical philosophy--we will later observe the end and fulfillment of ethical philosophy. But before we come to that stage we must pass over from Culture to Civilization and enter into the final period of spiritual development--Winter.

Winter. This final period is marked by the dawn of megalopolitan Civilization. The spiritual creative force has become extinct. Even life itself becomes problematical. Thought is limited to ethical and practical tendencies of an irreligious and unmetaphysical cosmopolitanism.

Materialistic World-Outlook. Two centuries after Puritanism the mechanistic and materialistic view of the world is at its height.

> Every great Culture begins with a mighty theme that rises out of the pre-urban country-side, is carried through in the cities of art and intellect, and closes with a finale of materialism in the world-

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25. Ibid., 365.

> cities. But even the last chords are strictly in the key of the whole. There are Chinese, Indian, Classical, Arabian, Western materialisms, and each is nothing but the original stock of myth-shapes, cleared of the elements of experience and contemplative vision and viewed mechanically.[26]

The irrational is done with for good, and the knowing and acknowledgment of mysteries is despised. Even the dogma of the Catholic Church is an explanation of the physical universe. Miracle is seen as a physical occurence of a higher order. It is suggested that electric power and the power of prayer may originate in a common source. A bishop suggests that physical tests could be applied to the miracle of transubstantiation. The words "God" and "world," "Providence" and "man" are retained, but the belief is in force and matter. Under the influence of materialism Western technical outlook came to its fulfillment.. Knowledge was here seen as Power. A "return to nature" for the West meant the unity of practical intelligence and nature in the <u>working hypothesis</u> so that men could <u>use</u> it. Other Cultures had been content with reaching a mechanical explanation of nature, but the West must utilize it.

Dominant in this epoch is the cult of science and emphasis upon utility and prosperity. In the Classical Culture representative of this tendency are the Cynics

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26. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 309f.

and Cyreniacs and the last Sophists. In the Arabian Culture in Abbassid times were communistic, atheistic, Epicurean sects of the nature of the "Brethren of Sincerity." Outstanding Western names are Bentham, ethics of pleasure; Comte, positivism; Darwin, evolution; Stirner, anarchism; Marx, dialectical materialism; Feuerbach, illusionist in religion.

To relieve the intellectual tension created by this materialism there arises a mock-religion that is characterized by moods of myth, by performing rites, by enjoying the irrational, the unnatural, the repulsive, and the merely silly. This aspect appeared in the Classical Culture in the Serapis-cult and the Isis-cult. At this time Chaldean astrology was also a fashion. It was "relaxation"--a "let's pretend." Through the countryside wandered charlatans and fake prophets who by pretentious rites sought to persuade the half-educated to return to religion. The same tendency is found in the Western world in occultism and theosophy, Christian Science, drawing-room Buddhism, and similar movements.

> Everywhere it is just a toying with myths that no one really believes, a tasting of cults that it is hoped might fill the inner void. The real belief is always the belief in atoms and numbers, but it requires this highbrow hocus-pocus to make it bearable in the long run. Materialism is shallow and honest, mock-religion shallow and dishonest.[27]

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27. Ibid., 310.

Ethical-Social Ideals of Life. The close relation between great metaphysical philosophy and insight into mathematics has already been noted. Following the zenith of mathematical thought had come the great conclusive systems of metaphysical philosophy. In Kant and Aristotle are to be found both the climax, and the beginning of the decline. Neither Kant nor Aristotle made any great contribution to the mathematical form-world. The metaphysical period in which life was contemplative, theoretical, creative was exhausted and came to an end in them. They gave the final answers to the great problems of knowing. Though in the West the great systems continued beyond Kant in Schelling, Hegel, and Fichte, the dominant emphasis in philosophy came to be placed on ethics. Thought now turned to life and sought to inquire into its conduct and maintenance. With the passing of the form-world of numbers, philosophy lost its structural strength. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were weak to the point of crudity in the realm of mathematics. Hence one might well accept Schopenhauer's philosophy and reject his metaphysics. Nietzsche's philosophy was an inner and very early experience which he later covered with a hurriedly conceived and somewhat patched mantle of metaphysics. In Stoicism and Epicurean philosophy the same procedure is found-- a superfluous layer of metaphysics required by convention surmounted by ethical thought applicable to that season.

The end of metaphysical philosophy signifies that the world-city has completely overcome the land. The theory of the city-world is directed outward and is consequently soulless.

> . . . In the Western "brain" the will to power, the tyrannical set towards the future and purpose to organize everybody and everything, demands practical expression, ethics, as it loses touch more and more with its metaphysical past, steadily assumes a social-ethical and social-economic character. The philosophy of the present that starts from Hegel and Schopenhauer is, so far as it represents the spirit of the age . . . a critique of society.[28]

The Classical non-metaphysical philosophy is that of the Stoics and Epicureans with their interest in their own individual bodies. The Western world devoted its attention to the body social. Here political economy supplants mathematics as the basis of philosophy. Ethics is the only distinctive philosophy of the nineteenth century. It takes three characteristic forms: the Socialism of Marx and Engels, the Anarchism of Stirner, and the social drama of Hebbel, Wagner, Ibsen, and Shaw.

> The actual and effective philosophy of the 19th Century . . . has as its one genuine theme the Will-to-Power. It considers this Will-to-power in civilized-intellectual, ethical, or social forms and presents it as will-to-life, as life-force, as practical-dynamical principle, as ideas, and as dramatic figure.[29]

Ethical philosophy came to an end with the work of George Bernard Shaw. As metaphysical philosophy exhausted itself,

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28. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 367.
29. Ibid., 373.

so does the ethical. Ethical Socialism began with Fichte, Hegel, and Humboldt; reached its high point in the middle of the last century; and by the end of the century had reached the stage of repetition.

Inner Completion of Mathematical Form-World. Here in a concise statement by Spengler we can get a complete picture of Classical and Western mathematics.

> . . . Western mathematic, having exhausted every inward possibility and fulfilled its destiny as the copy and purest expression of the idea of the Faustian soul, closes its development in the same way as the mathematic of the Classical Culture concluded in the third century. Both these sciences . . . arose out of a wholly new idea of number, in the one case Pythagoras's, in the other Descartes'. Both, expanding in all beauty, reached their maturity one hundred years later; and both, after flourishing for three centuries, completed the structure of their ideas at the same moment as the Cultures to which they respectively belonged passed over into the phase of megalopolitan Civilization. . . . For us the time of the great mathematicians is past. Our task to-day is that of preserving, rounding off, refining, selection--in place of big dynamic creation, the same clever detail-work which characterized the Alexandrine mathematic of late Hellenism.[30]

Degradation of Abstract Thinking. We have already spoken of the close relation between metaphysics and mathematics. With the completion of the latter, philosophy becomes concerned primarily with ethics. We have observed also the fulfillment of Ethical Socialism. A further stage of decline is manifest in a professional lecture-room philosophy and the rise of compendium litera-

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30. Ibid., 90.

ture. The Classical world saw this phase in the Stoa, the Peripatos, and the Academy. The equivalent in the Magian Culture were the schools of Bagdad and Basra. In the West there are Kantians, "Logicians," and "Psychologists." Speaking of the lecture-room philosophers and systematizers of knowledge, Spengler says:

> All that these unimportant pedants have done for us is, so to write and rewrite the history of philosophy (and what history!--collections of dates and "results") that no one to-day knows what the history of philosophy is or what it might be.[31]

Schopenhauer's phrase, "professors' philosophy by philosophy professors," is quoted to further illustrate the dearth of real thought. The compendium literature of our day is a phenomenon of the age. We have produced "Outlines" and "Stories" of everything from Philosophy to Money.

Spread of a Final World Sentiment. Each Culture has its own method of spiritual extinction. For the Indian Culture it was Buddhism. For the Arabian Culture a practical fatalism was the way out. Stoicism was the final world sentiment for the Classical Culture. Socialism is the West's means of spiritual extinction. Materialism and irreligion are the marks of each of these final forms. All are forms of nihilism and self-repudiation.

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31. Ibid., 388.

> Stoicism is directed to individual self-management, to statuesque and purely present being, without regard to future or past or neighbor. Socialism is the dynamic treatment of the same theme; it is defensive like Stoicism, but what it defends is not the pose but the working-out of the life; and more it is offensive-defensive, for with a powerful thrust into distance it spreads itself into all future and over all mankind, which shall be brought under one single regimen.[32]

A Second Religiousness appears in all fully-formed Civilizations as the latter are beginning to pass into a non-historical state. It consists in the adoption of some of the forms of the old religion to a simple and unmetaphysical system of philosophy that may serve ethical and practical needs. Stoicism which began in the materialism of the Sophists and Cynics and could explain all the myths allegorically could yet produce in this epoch such a devoutly religious work as Cleanthe's "Hymn to Zeus." Syncretism is another form of the second religiousness. Starting on rationalist doctrines it secured the motivating force of cults from Egypt, Syria, and Greece. In Arabian Culture this same syncretism of the

> . . . folk-religion, with its images of Purgatory, Hell, Last Judgment, the heavenly Kaaba, Logos-Mohammed, fairies, saints, and spooks drove pristine Islam entirely into the background.[33]

A still further retreat of religion is seen in the elevation of men to the position of deities, a phenomenon comparable to the springtime view of the gods as heroes. In

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32. Ibid., 357.
33. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 313.

Classical Culture there appeared emperor-worship and cults of Plato and Epicurus. Al Ghazali (c. 1080) who in Arabian Culture aided in bringing about the second religiousness was himself seen as a divine being and beloved as a saint and helper. In the end the second religiousness issues in the fellah religions. The line of demarcation between cosmopolitan and provincial piety disappears, and religion becomes once more purely primitive.

II. "CONTEMPORARY" CULTURE EPOCHS

Introduction. All art is expression language. This expression is of two forms, ornament and imitation. Imitation is widespread in the animal world whereas ornament is peculiar to man. Imitation grows out of the secret rhythm of all cosmic things. Imitation is religious for it seeks to identify the inner activity of the soul with the world-around. Imitation is the assimilation of the One with the Other. It is characterized by contemplation and feeling. As only the living can be imitated, imitation belongs to Time and Direction. Its highest possibilities lie in the copying of a destiny whether it be tones, verses, pictures, or stage-scene. Ornament, on the contrary, does not follow the stream of life, but faces it. It is marked by established symbols and motives and stock forms. Ornament is related to Space and Extension. It is pure extension in settled and stable forms,

presentable to the senses, a finished thing. Imitation can present the destiny of an individual as Antigone or Desdemona while ornament or symbol can only represent the generalized destiny idea as in the Doric column. Imitation presupposes a talent; ornament demands an acquirable knowledge in addition. All of the strict ornamental arts are governed by fixed rules and forms. They are marked by causality and system. An imitation is beautiful, while an ornament has significance. Imitation is related to life and the future; ornament to death and the past. Imitation produces the peasant's cottage, the noble's hall, the fenced town, and the castle--all expressions of life and blood. Ornament develops the urn, the sarcophagus, the temple of the dead, the temples of the gods, and cathedrals. Cottage and castle are the buildings where imitative art is made and done, but the cathedral is art.

The springtime of every Culture is characterized by two ornamental and non-imitative arts, building and decoration. The pre-Cultural period is expressed largely through ornamentation in its narrowed sense--few buildings remain. With the dawn of the Culture, however, architecture becomes the prime expression-form, and mere ornament and decoration has no part with it. Until the beginning of the late period architecture is lord and master, and all the minor forms of ornamentation group themselves about it. But when the late period of the Culture epoch

arrives architecture dissolves into a group of special arts characterized by imitative and personal expression. Ornament become more and more decorative and tends to develop into imitations of the world-around. With the setting in of Civilization true art ends. Classicism, a sentimental Ornamentation, and Romanticism, a sentimental Imitation, illustrate the transition. Instead of style there is taste and fashion. Deep significance and inward necessity are no longer present. Art becomes craft-art.

In the previous division of our study we traced the thought-life of those Cultures we know best from their earliest beginnings through to their culminations. We attempt now to do the same with the artistic expressions of the several Cultures. This section of our study will fall into three general epochs roughly comparable to the four major divisions of the spiritual cycle. The first epoch is the Pre-Cultural period; secondly, the period of Culture; and thirdly, Civilization. What we will be doing in this section will be tracing the phenomena of the great styles. A great style is "an emanation from the essence of the Macrocosm, from the prime-symbol of a great culture."[34] The above selected epochs are synonymous to the pre-existence, existence, and post-existence of a style.

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34. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 200.

Pre-Culture Period. Of these earliest beginnings we have but little information. The time is one generally of chaotic primitive expression-forms. Mystical symbolism and naïve imitation are the outstanding qualities of this early age. The Mycenean Age (1600-1100 B.C.) embraces this period in Classical Culture. The Mycenean world lay "darkly groping, big with hopes, drowsy with the intoxication of deeds and sufferings, ripening quietly toward its future."[35] Near it, in its final stage, lay the Late Egyptian world in Crete. This latter, more exactly designated the Minoan world, was "gay and satisfied, snugly ensconced in the treasures of an ancient Culture, elegant, light, with all its great problems far behind it."[35] The Mycenean world was influenced by the proximity of the people of Crete and stole and copied their art objects, but these expressions were not the recording of their soul. Their true art though heavy and clumsy was yet grand and deep and contained within it a forceful symbolism that was moving towards the geometric style.

In the contemporary Arabian Culture was the Persian-Seleucid Period (500-0) influenced in its early beginnings by the Late-Classical or Hellenistic world and the Late-Indian or Indo-Iranian world. The counterpart in Western Culture is the Merovingian-Carolingian Era (500-900 A.D.)

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35. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 87.

This period is represented only by its ornament. As yet it was between styles. It touched upon and explored various forms, but none of them sprang from an inwardly necessary expression. For the whole of West Europe the period 850-950 is almost a blank.

Culture. In the period of Culture can be traced the life-history of a style that is formative of the entire inner being. Two sub-periods are to be distinguished. The Early Period is one in which ornament and architecture appear as elementary expressions of the young world feeling. It is the period of the "Primitives." It is marked by the birth and rise of the style in which forms spring up from the land, unconsciously shaped. It sees also the completion of this early form language, the exhaustion of possibilities and the resultant contradiction. The Late Period sees the formation of a group of arts that are urban and conscious. They are in the hands of individuals or the "Great Masters." This period embodies the formation of a mature artistry, the perfection of an intellectualized form-language, and finally, the exhaustion of strict creativeness. With this last comes the dissolution of grand forms, the end of style, and the onset of Romanticism and Classicism.

Early Period. The early period in the Classical world was the Doric (1100-500 B.C.).

> The Classical Culture begins . . . with a great renunciation. A rich, pictorial, almost over-ripe art lay ready to its hand. But this could not become the expression of the young soul, and so from about 1100 B.C. the harsh, narrow, and to our eyes scanty and barbaric, early-Doric geometrical style appears in the opposition to the Minoan.[36]

For three centuries there was no architecture. Early Classical religion had no cult-building but only a sacred precinct staked off on the ground. Only about 700 B.C. did the Classical soul begin to represent this idea in the sensible form of a built body. About 650 B.C. the Doric and Etruscan temple-type arose. The Doric soul rejected all big and far-reaching creations. In harmony with its conception of space, it attained to the expression of the Doric temple with its image-like quality, its purely outward significance, and its disregard for the space within. All of the Greek culture is a mashed cowardice in the face of grave matters and responsibilities. This is reflected in the Classical architecture which is devoted to the small, the easy, the simple. It avoided difficult architectural problems. It set itself small tasks and then ceased altogether. Contrasted with the other Cultures the style was but feebly developed.

> A few variations of the Doric temple and it was exhausted. It was already closed off about 400 when the Corinthian capital was invented, and everything subsequent to this was merely modification of what existed.[37]

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36. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 154.
37. Ibid., 204.

Toward the end of the early period, at the same time that architecture had fulfilled its possibilities, there arose a Dionysiac-musical hostility to the Apollonian Doric. These musical beginnings were probably quite important, but they had to give way to the superior Apollonian arts of sculpture and fresco. Serious music for the Classical soul was nothing but plastic for the ear. Their chords had a structural and not an harmonic meaning. Music was single-voiced, rejected tone-color, and treated melody quantitatively.

No single term such as Doric or Gothic will suffice to express the Arabian or Magian early period. It speaks often through borrowed, adopted, and inherited forms. Terms such as Sassanid, Byzantine, Armenian, Syrian, Sabaean, "Late Classical," and "Early Christian" serve as expressions for this thwarted culture.

This Culture, like all others in their springtimes, sought to express its spirituality in a new ornamentation and particularly in religious architecture. Despite this Culture's apparent heterogeneity, there was a broad uniformity of artistic expression that out-weighs conflicting details.

> All these religions, the Christian, the Jewish, the Persian, the Manichaean, the Syncretic, possessed cult-buildings and (at any rate in their script) an ornamentation of the first rank; and however different the items of their dogmas, they are all pervaded by an homogeneous symbolism of depth-experience. There is something in the basilicas of

> Christianity, hellenistic, hebrew and Baal-sults, and in the Mithraeum, the Mazdaist fire-temple and the Mosque, that tells of a like spirituality: it is the Cavern-feeling.[38]

The parts of the Arabian world that were influenced by the Classical Culture and held in bondage to it developed the architectural type of the Basilica. Much of the same architecture was used but with entirely different meaning. For the Classical beholder, solumns ranked before a windowless wall were a denial of space within. But for the Magian, who transferred the columns to the inside, it was a denial of the space without. For that portion of the Arabian world where the cavern feeling was free to develop its own form-language, the roof was emphasized rather than the mere development of an interior. The dome, cupola, barrel-vaulting, rib-vaulting were all used by this culture to symbolically express its new world-feeling. Eastern builders introduced these forms into all parts of the Roman Empire to please the taste of the megalopolitans. Hadrian rebuilt the Pantheon on the design of Eastern cult-buildings, and, in so-doing, constructed the earliest mosque. The architecture of the central-dome, the purest expression of the Magian world-feeling, extended in Nestorian Christianity from Armenia to China. It was the sole expression-form also for the Manicheans and Mazdaists and even impressed itself upon

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38. Ibid, 209.

the basilica of the West. It was domesticated in France where sects of the Manicheans existed until the Crusades. Under Justinian the domed basilica entered Byzantium and Ravenna. The pure basilica in the Germanic-West was transformed into the cathedral. The domed basilica spread into Russia from Byzantium and Armenia.

So much for the architecture of this early period. In ornamentation also the Arabian world was much under the influence of the Classical world, but the Magian took certain features and gave them a unique meaning. The Euclidean mosaic was taken by the Arabian soul

> . . . built up of pieces of glass and set in fused gold and . . . covered the walls and roofs of the domed basilica. This Early-Arabian mosaic-picturing corresponds exactly, as to phase, with the glass picturing of Gothic cathedrals, both being "early" arts ancillary to religious architectures. The one by letting in the light enlarges the church-space into world-space, while the other transforms it into the magic, gold-shimmering sphere which bears men away from earthly actuality into the visions of Plotinus, Origen, the Manichaeans, the Gnostics and the Fathers, and the Apocalyptic poems.[39]

The other important form of ornamentation which came to practically dominate architecture was the arabesque. This originated in the acanthus motive of Classical Culture.

In Western Culture the early period covering the years 900-1500 is the Gothic. Its birth and rise is marked by the springing of forms from the ground, unconsciously shaped. The grand style began simultaneously with the

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39. Ibid., 214.

stirrings of a new piety (the Cluniac Reform, c. 1000) and new thought (the Eucharistic controversy between Berengar of Tours and Lanfranc 1050).

> . . . This awakening happened shortly before A.D. 1000. In one moment, the Romanesque style was there. Instead of the fluid organization of space on an insecure ground plan, there was, suddenly, a strict dynamic of space. From the very beginning, inner and outer construction were placed in a fixed relation, the wall was penetrated by the form-language and the form worked into the wall in a way that no other culture has ever imagined. From the very beginning the window and the belfry were invested with their meanings. The form was irrevocably assigned. Only its development remained to be worked out.[40]

Architecture proceeded on a grand scale--often the entire populace of the town could not fill the cathedral, or else it was impossible to complete the projected scheme. The Faustian soul built high. This culture's dream images took form in high-vaulted cathedrals. Rib-vaulting with its lunettes and flying buttresses emancipated the contained space from the sense-appreciable surface that bound it in. The window in Western architecture is very significant. Through it the will emerges from the interior to the boundless. Ornamentation played an important part in the Western cathedral.

> To get rid of every trace of Classical corporeality, there was brought to bear the full force of a deeply significant ornamentation, which defies the delimiting power of stone with its weirdly impressive transformations of vegetal, animal and human bodies . . . which dissolves all its lines into melodies and variations on a theme, all its facades into many

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40. Ibid., 201.

> voiced fugues, and all the bodiliness of its statuary into a music of drapery folds.[41]

The same purpose was also served by the glass painting of the cathedral windows with their translucent and wholely bodiless form.

The Western music of the tenth century is based about the names of Hucbald and Guido d'Arezzo who borrowed from other Cultures forms of music but in so doing transformed them completely. There is a duality of development in Western music which probably existed in all cultures. On the one hand was ornamental music of the grand style which was closely associated with the cathedral and was a veritable architecture of human voices. On the other hand was imitative music associated with the castle and the village--the music of the troubadours, Minnesingers, and minstrels. The former music began with theory, the latter impromptu.

> Imitation stands nearest to life and direction and therefore begins with melody, while the symbolism of counterpoint belongs to extension and through polyphony signifies infinite space.[42]

The same contrast is mirrored in the opposition of the Renaissance and Reformation. Florence, the heart of the Renaissance, had no use for counterpoint. The development of strict musical form from the Motet to the four-voice Mass through Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay took place

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41. Ibid., 199.
42. Ibid., 229.

entirely within the confines of Gothic architecture. From Fra Angelico (1387-1455) to Michelangelo (1475-1564) the Netherlands ruled supreme in the realm of instrumental music. While Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) and Raphael (1483-1520) were painting at Florence, Okeghem (d. 1495) and Josquin des Pres (d. 1521) brought the polyphony of human voices to their highest fulfillment.

The Renaissance is to be understood as a revolt against Faustian counterpoint which was preparing to dominate the expression language of the whole Western Culture. It altered some of the surface manifestations but did not touch the roots of life at all. The Renaissance in the West has the same role as did the Dionysiac movement in the Classical Culture.

> In both bases we have in reality an outbreak of deep-seated discordances in the Culture, which physiognomically dominates a whole epoch of its history and especially of its artistic world . . . a stand that the soul attempts to make against the Destiny that at last it comprehends. The inwardly recalcitrant forces . . . are striving to deflect the sense of the Culture, to repudiate, to get rid of or to evade its inexorable necessity; it stands anxious in presence of the call to accomplish its historical fate in Ionic and Baroque.[43]

The form of this Renaissance opposition was the tradition of the antique with its cult of the bodily-plastic. In Florence men practiced fresco and relief, and for a brief period in Western Culture sculpture ranked as the para-

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43. Ibid., 253f.

mount art. But during this same period counterpoint and oil-painting, the two arts that had been created with the Gothic architecture, were being introduced by the Dutch masters into Italy, and their influence was bound to overcome the Renaissance and make the transfer from Gothic to Baroque.

Late Period. The late period saw in the Classical Culture a shift of the center of gravity from Doric, architecture alone, to the Ionic, and an emphasis upon an individual plastic art. The shift in the Arabian world witnessed the dissolution of "all the forms of architecture painting and sculpture into style-impressions that nowadays we should consider as craft art."[44] In Western Culture the style shifts into music.

In this period we have developing various arts of form. Spengler classifies music with the arts of form, dismissing "the distinction between optical and acoustic means as only a superficial one."[45] In fact the only classification of the arts that is possible is that made from the historical viewpoint. Certain cultures choose certain arts--this choice is in itself an expression means of the highest order. The choice of these arts is determined by the nature of the great architecture of the early period. Hence, the Classical architecture, being

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44. Ibid., 203.
45. Ibid., 219.

what it was, it is only natural that the great form art of that Culture should be the statue.

The Ionic or late period in the Classical Culture covers the three centuries from 650-350 B.C. In substance it saw the evolution of a rigorous non-spatial art. It dates from the completion of the Doric to the beginning of the Hellenistic age. The Classical Culture produced a group of great arts linked together by the unity of the prime symbol underlying them. They are vase-painting, fresco relief, the architecture of the ranked columns, the Attic drama and dance, and the naked statue. The two primary arts, however, are the all-round statue and the strictly planar fresco. Vase painting and fresco appeared first. Both of these arts could reproduce the prime symbol as illusions on a painted surface. But though they were able to denote and evoke the ideal, it was physically impossible for them to realize or fulfill it. With Polygnotus (fl. 460 B.C.) the art of fresco painting came to its heights, and the grand style passed on to Polycletus (fl. 450 B.C.) and free sculpture in the round. Classical painting continued, but it was marked by cleverness and human charm and lacked inner greatness. With the exit of fresco, the great masters of absolute plastic appear: Polycletus, Phidias, Paeonius, Alcamenes, Scopas, Praxiteles, Lysippus.

The Late-Arabian form-world is described by the

terms Persian-Nestorian, Byzantine-Armenian, Islamic-Moorish. It covers the three centuries from 300-800 A.D. The Arabian Culture was carried to its fulfillment by the Moslems who in this sense are the heirs of Monophysite and Nestorian Christianity and of the Jews and Persians. The Moslems transformed the Magia Sophia into a mosque, followed Nestorian and Mazdaist to China and India marking their way with domical buildings. Mosques appeared in Sicily and Spain. Much of what the Renaissance believed to be Classical was but Arabian. With the rise of Islam, the Arabian world, freed from servitude to all other cultures, hurled itself upon the other lands. A single sudden burst carried the Arabs to Spain, France, India and Turkestan.

This late period was the zenith of the ornamentation art of mosaic-painting. The Magian world-feeling was brought into expression by means of the gold ground of its mosaics and pictures.

> The Magian felt all happening as an expression of mysterious powers that filled the world-cavern with their spiritual substance--and it shut off the depicted scene with a gold background, that is, by something that stood beyond and outside all nature-colours. . . . The metallic gleam, which is practically never found in natural conditions, is unearthly. . . . The gleaming gold takes away from the scene, the life and the body of their substantial being.[46]

The other art, that of arabesque, is

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46. Ibid., 247.

> . . . The genuine Magian motive--anti-plastic to the last degree, hostile to the pictorial and to the bodily alike. Itself bodiless, it disembodies the object over which its endless richness of web is drawn.[47]

Architecture completely opened out into ornamentation. With the complete victory of featureless arabesque over architecture the Arabian style neared the completion of its style and the end of its possibilities.

The late period in Western art occupies the three centuries 1500-1800. It is known as the Baroque and stands between the end of Gothic and the decay of Rococo. The era marks the end of the great Faustian style. As the Classical Age saw sculpture replace fresco-painting, so the West saw instrumental music replace oil-painting. "The period 1550-1650 belongs as completely to oil-painting as fresco and vase-painting belong to the 6th century B.C."[48] But as with fresco-painting, oil-painting could only suggest the ideal.

In Florence for a time during the Renaissance sculpture ranked as the paramount art. But it was not destined to play a part in Western Culture. Things could be accomplished by other arts--painting and music--that could not be expressed by sculpture.

> . . . This art, incapable of carrying the Faustian burden, has no longer a mission--and therefore no longer a soul or a life-history of specific style-development--in the Faustian world.[49]

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47. Ibid., 215.
48. Ibid., 282.
49. Ibid., 240.

In the period of the Renaissance appeared the three greatest men that Italy produced after Dante--Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo. Each failed in this period to "find himself." They strived to be Classical in their work, but the Classic ideal was impossible of their comprehension. In spite of their strivings, the Faustian soul was through them finding its way back to its starting place.

> In all their work one feels a secret music, in all their forms the movement quality and the tending into distance and depth. They are on their way, not to Phidias but to Palestrina, and they have come thither not from Roman ruins but from the still music of the cathedral. Raphael thawed the Florentine fresco, and Michelangelo the statue, and Leonardo dreamed already of Rembrandt and Bach.[50]

Michelangelo was drawn by half of his nature toward the Classical and sculpture. By means of fresco-paintings created sculpturally he tried to liberate the high Renaissance paganism that was within him. As a sculptor he tried to put his personality into the language of stone, but he was unable to fulfill the conditions for the highest sculpture. He could not create the instantaneous bodily posture--his spiritual eye broke through the immediate sensual form and embraced past and future. With him Western sculpture came to an end. In his old age Michelangelo turned to architecture. Here he shattered the Renaissance architecture and created the Roman Baroque ~~one~~ in which measure yielded to melody and the static to

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50. Ibid., 274.

the dynamic.

Leonardo in his work began with not the line but with the inside, the spiritual space within. His product was something incorporeal and indescribable. He investigated the life within the body--it is no wonder that it was he who discovered the circulation of the blood. Leonardo was the first also to set his mind to work upon aviation. During this same Barocque period came also the discovery of the Copernican universe, the discovery of the New World, the discovery of gun-powder (a long-range weapon), and printing (the long-range script)--all purely Faustian phenomena.

Raphael is important at this period because he brought Western art to the point of fulfillment in regard to line. He achieved the utmost possibilities within the form world. His "Sistine Madonna" is the very summation of the Renaissance. Of it Spengler writes: "Raphael causes the outline to draw into itself the entire content of the work. It is the last grand line of Western art."[51]

But oil-painting was incapable of expressing completely the Western soul. Oil-painting had reached the limits of its possibilities in 1670 when Newton and Leibnitz were discovering the Differential Calculus. Its last great masters in Velasquez (d.1660), Poussin (d.1665)

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51. Ibid., 280.

Frans Hals (d. 1666), Rembrandt (d. 1669), Vermeer (1675), Murillo, Ruysdael, and Claude Lorrain (d. 1682) died within a brief span of years. Since that time there have been few successors of any importance, and for all practical purposes we can say that we have reached the end of an art.

The other great special-art in the late period of the Faustian Culture was music. At the outset of the Baroque period the leadership in vocal music passed to Italy where the possibilities of the human voice were exhausted with the a cappella style of Orlando Lasso and Palestrina, both of whom died 1594.

> Its powers could no longer express the passionate drive into the infinite, and it made way for the chorus of instruments, wind and string. And thereupon Venice produced Titian-music, the new madrigal that in its flow and ebb follows the sense of the text. The music of the Gothic is architectural and vocal, that of the Baroque pictorial and instrumental. The one builds, the other operates by means of motives. For all the arts have become urban and therefore secular. We pass from superpersonal form to the personal expression of the Master. . . .[52]

During the seventeenth century both architecture and music were ruled by painting.

> At the beginning, in the 17th century, music uses the characteristic tone-colours of the instruments, and the contrasts of strings and wind, human voices and instrumental voices, as means wherewith to paint. Its (quite unconscious) ambition is to parallel the great masters from Titian to Velasquez and Rembrandt. It makes pictures . . . paints heroic landscapes . . . and draws a portrait in lines of melody. . . .[53]

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52. Ibid., 230.
53. Ibid., 226.

But the last of the seventeenth century saw the expiration of the great forms of pictorial music. The final masters of the cantata with its image themes, variety of vocal and instrumental color, and landscape and legendary pictures passed with Heinrich Schutz (d. 1672), Carissimi (d.1674), and Purcell (d. 1695).

Early Baroque music saw the union of melody and embellishment to form the motive. This lead to the rebirth of counterpoint in the fugal style which began with Frescobaldi and culminated in Bach. Instead of vocal masses and motets there developed the oratorio (Carissimi), the cantata (Viadana), and the opera (Monteverde). The "orchestra" also came into being at this time. Out of these early Baroque forms proceeded, in the seventeenth century, the sonata-forms of the suite, the symphony, and the concerto grosso. As the century progressed, music came to be marked more and more by inner structure, sequence of movements, thematic working-out, and modulation. Music became bodiless, dynamic, to be with Bach, Handel, and Corelli the ruling art of the West. Stamitz and his generation in the eighteenth century discovered the four-part movement, "the last and ripest form of musical ornamentation . . . as vehicle of pure and unlimited motion."[54] With this last development, music became a working-out, a

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54. Ibid., 231.

cyclic succession, a drama. Music reached its greatest expression in the strings.

> . . . The violin is the noblest of all instruments that the Faustian soul has imagined and trained for the expression of its last secrets, and certain it is, too, that it is in string quartets and violin sonatas that it has experienced its most transcendent and most holy moments of full illumination. Here, in chamber-music, Western art as a whole reaches its highest point.[35]

With the decline of oil-painting, music became dominant over both it and architecture. Music, freed from all bodilineess, was absolute. The theme was no longer an image but a function as exemplified in the fugal style of Bach. Following Bach came the great masters of absolute music: Handel, Gluck, Stamitz, the younger Bachs, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. Music banished the plastic art of the statue and tolerated only the minor art of porcelain. It so dominated painting that we even now speak of tone-colors and color-tones. The painting of the eighteenth century like that of the late Classical Culture is marked by cleverness and human charm, but it lacks inner greatness. The artists of this era tried by virtuosity to speak in terms of that art which had surpassed them as the single and final art of the Culture.

In the eighteenth century, too, architecture died

> . . . submerged and choked in the music of Rococo. . . . Its origin is in the spirit of the fugue and . . . its evanescence and instability and sparkle, its destruction of surface and visible order, are

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35. Ibid., 231.

> nothing else than a victory of tones and melodies over lines and walls, the triumph of pure space over material, of absolute becoming over the become.[56]
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> It is the final brilliant autumn with which the Western soul completes the expression of its high style. And in the Vienna of the Congress-time it faded and died.[57]

Civilization. The wintry phase of Civilization brings with it an existence without inner form. Megalopolitan art becomes commonplace. Luxury, sport, and nerve-excitement are the interests of the populace. Strict creativeness has disappeared, and in its place comes a style that yields to tastes and rapidly changing fashions. This is an era of revivals, of borrowings--true creative power has died.

Civilization in the Classical Culture came in with a senile and flat Classicism to be found in the Hellenistic megalopolis. Apollonian art came to an end in the theatrical sculpture of Pergamum. Another sign of decadence is to be found in the taste for the gigantic. This is not an expression of inward greatness but a specious swaggering. It is manifest in the Classical Culture by the Zeus altar at Pergamum, the Colossus of Rhodes, and the architecture of the Roman Imperial Age with its Colosseum and triumphal arches. The conventions of Phidias and Praxiteles were disregarded and trampled underfoot.

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56. Ibid., 230.
57. Ibid., 232.

Alexandria symbolizes the complete decline of art. There one could find

> . . . a pursuit of illusions of artistic progress, of personal peculiarity, of "the new style," of "unsuspected possibilities," theoretical babble, pretentious fashionable artists, weight lifters with cardboard dumb-bells--the "Literary Man" in the Poet's place, the unabashed farce of Impressionism which the art-trade has organized as a "phase of art-history," thinking and feeling and forming as industrial art. Alexandria, too, had problem-dramatists and box-office artists whom it preferred to Sophocles, and painters who invented new tendencies and successfully bluffed their public.[58]

The fashion at Rome varied from Graeco-Asiatic to Graeco-Egyptian to neo-Attic. The age was marked by changes, revivals, and new combinations. So impotent was creative art that Constantine adorned his triumphal arch with sculpture taken from other buildings. Eventually even the desire for change disappeared, and the final result was an endless repetition of stock forms. So was all the Roman portrait sculpture which was based on a very few Hellenic types.

Little is said of the finale of Arabian art. A concluding form of the architecture is to be seen in the gigantic buildings that were erected in India under the influence of this culture. Ornament lost all deep significance and became mere craft-art in the form of oriental rugs, arms, and implements.

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58. Ibid., 294.

In Western Civilization from Constable (1776-1837) to Manet (1832-1883) is found Impressionism. The word plein-air designates its peculiar characteristic. It rejects the noble green of Grunewald, Claude, and Giorgione, the Catholic space-color, and the transcendent brown of Rembrandt, the color of Protestant world-feeling. Touched by cosmopolitan materialism its new color scale stands for irreligion. Impressionism has descended to the earth--it is a "return to Nature."

> The modern artist is a workman, not a creator. He sets unbroken spectrum-colours side by side. The subtle script, the dance of brush-strokes, give way to crude commonplaces, pilings and mixings, and daubing of points, squares, broad inorganic masses. The whitewasher's brush and the trowel appear in the painter's equipment; the oil-priming of the canvas is brought into the scheme of execution and in places left bare. It is a risky art, meticulous, cold, diseased--an art for over-developed nerves, but scientific to the last degree, energetic in everything that relates to the conquest of technical obstacles, acutely assertive of programme.[59]

In the realm of music the last great Faustian art died with "Tristan." Nietzsche's charge of decadence, theatricalness, and the like hurled at Wagner and Bayreuth, the "Ring" and "Parsifal" were justified. Here were motives used from a discredited ancient mythology, a ruthless bombardment of the nerves, and a self-conscious force and towering greatness. Indicative of the decline is the absolute shattering of all the rules and conven-

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59. Ibid., 289.

tions of the centuries. That form and destiny which had rested so easy upon the great souls of the previous century was intolerable for Wagner.

Wagner and Manet are closely related. The impressionists by means of strokes and patches of color could conjure up a world--this was the end and culmination of their art. Wagner could accomplish the same thing by the use of a motive.

> Everything merges in bodiless infinity, no longer even does a linear melody wrestle itself clear of the vague tone-masses that in strange surgings challenge an imaginary space. The motive comes up out of terrible deeps. It is flooded for an instant by a flash of hard bright sun. Then, suddenly, it is so close upon us that we shrink. It laughs, it coaxes, it threatens, and anon it vanishes into the domain of endless distances, faintly modified and in the voice of a single oboe, to pour out a fresh cornucopia of spiritual colours. Whatever this is, it is neither painting nor music, in any sense of these words that attaches to previous work in the strict style.[60]

III. "CONTEMPORARY" POLITICAL EPOCHS

This last section of the present chapter will be devoted to a study of the political history of the Cultures. We will deal principally with the Classical and Western Cultures--those concerning which we have the most adequate information. As the limits of knowledge permit we will touch upon the names and events in two other Cultures--the Egyptian and the Chinese. As in the previous section

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60. Ibid., 292-293.

the study is divided into three general epochs: Pre-Cultural, Culture, and Civilization.

Pre-Cultural Period. Spengler tells us very little about this era. It is a time of primitive folk--of tribes and chiefs. As yet "politics" and the "state" have not emerged. In Egypt it is the Thinite Period of Menes covering the years 3400 B.C.-3000 B.C.; in China, the Shang Period, 1700 B.C. - 1300 B.C.; in the Classical world, the Mycenean Age of Agamemnon, 1600 B.C.-1100 B.C.; in the West, the Frankish Period of Charlemagne, 500-900.

Culture: Early Period. This general period is marked by the rise of certain national groups into states. As in the cultural studies in the previous section it is necessary to divide this epoch into an early and a late period. The Early Period sees the growing consciousness of political existence and the resultant formation of the two prime classes of nobles and priests. It is the time of feudalism in which the country-side and the spirit of the countryman are foremost. Feudal economics and purely agrarian values dominate the city which is but a market or a stronghold. It is the age of chivalry when knights ride out on the impulse of religious ideals. Within this feudal state are the struggles between the vassals themselves and between the vassals and the overlords. The early period ends with the breaking of the traditional

political forms and a move from feudalism to the aristocratic state.

A sketch of the Old Kingdom in Egypt during these early political centuries portrays the feudal conditions of the IVth Dynasty and the increasing powers of the feudatories and priesthoods. Though the Pharoah was regarded as the incarnation of Ra, the later dynasties witnessed the break-up of the Kingdom into heritable principalities. The VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties were periods of interregnum in which the throne was often vacant and the continuity of rulers broken.

China of the Early Chou Period is a similar case in point in which the central ruler (Wang) was hard pressed by the feudal nobility. In 842 B.C. Li Wang and his heir were forced to flee. The administration of the Empire was carried on by two individual princes. Here also was a time of interregnum in which the House of Chou fell, and the Imperial name became a meaningless title.

This Early Period in the Classical World is the Doric. Compared to the other Cultures "the building-up of feudalism in the Classical World was slow, static, almost noiseless, so that it is hardly recognizable save from the traces of transition."[61] The source of our information for this era are the Homeric epics. Agamemnon

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61. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 374.

is illustrative of a ruler of a wide area who took to the field with his peers. The hereditary court offices stripped the King of his rights one by one, finally leaving to the ruling house only its name. Later portions of the Homeric epics portray the nobles inviting the King to take his seat and disthroning him. Aristocratic synoecism was a phenomena of this age in which the inhabitants of the countryside gave up their little towns and villages to assemble themselves into one community under the rule of a noble.

The Early or Gothic Period of Western Culture in its basic outlines is similar to that of the others discussed. In the pre-Cultural era of the Carolingians men were classed as servants, freemen, and nobles. But the early Gothic could say:

> God hath shapen lives three,
> Boor and knight and priest they be.[62]

Between these two times a new Culture had been born. With it has come the consciousness of the two prime classes, the nobles and the priests. The peasantry comes into existence also at this time as a background estate

> . . . the nourishing estate . . . the root of the great plant Culture, which has driven its fibres deep into Mother Earth and darkly, industrously, draws all juices into itself and sends them to the upper parts, where trunks and branches tower up in the light of history. It serves the great lives

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62. Ibid., 334.

> not merely by the nourishment that it wins out of the soil for them, but also with that other harvest of mother earth--its own blood; for blood flowed up for centuries from the villages into the high places, received there the high forms, and maintained the high lives.[63]

This relation between the peasantry and the prime estates is one of vassalage. History "in the high style" begins in the Western Culture, as in all others, with the feudal state. The idea of feudalism is the dominant note in all Springtimes.

The up-rising and down-going of feudalism are closely related. Even in the full bloom of feudalism the opposition of vassal and lord and of temporal and spiritual powers were cut across by national oppositions. Within the feudal order itself were great decisions pointing to its downfall. 1084 was the date of the Domesday Book in which the most strictly organized central power was prescribed, but 1215 was the date of the Magna Carta. The States-General in 1302 in France was called by the baronage in conjuction with the towns and the clergy. A few decades later German vassals made the election of the German Kingship dependent upon themselves as Electors.

The mightiest expression of the feudal idea is found in the Western struggle between Empire and Papacy

> . . . both of which dreamed of a consummation in which the entire world was to become an immense feudal system, and so intimately enwove themselves

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63. Ibid., 349.

> into the dream that with the decay of feudalism, both fell together from their heights in a lamentable ruin.[64]

As early as 962 Otto the Great had conceived the idea of the Holy Roman Empire. Before him in 860 Pope Nicholas I had dreamed of a papal democracy above the princes of the world. Gregory VII set out upon this task and as a result secured the allegiance of England and Sicily and awarded the Imperial crown. But a little later Henry VI of Hohenstaufen was on the verge of accomplishing the task for the Empire. The greatest of the popes, Innocent III (1198-1216) did for a short time secure the papal overlordship of the world. However, the papal empire disintegrated with his death. Even the spiritual dignitaries, following the example of their secular counterparts, set about to limit the Pope by making the voice of the General Council superior to that of the papal lord. The clerics at the councils of Constance (1414) and Basel (1431) attempted to set themselves up as temporal lords over the Papal States in place of the Roman barons. But the idea of the State as over against that of feudalism sided with the barons and together they carried the day.

The final stage of Western Feudalism saw as in the other Cultures a period of interregnum. In Germany the Empire became a venerated shadow. In Italy it is the time

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64. Ibid., 373.

of the condottieri. With the death of Boniface VIII who in 1302 had been arrested for asserting the feudal power of the church, the papacy experienced a century of banishments, anarchy, and impotence. In England the houses of York and Lancaster were destroying the best blood of the land in civil war over the throne.

The fall of the Empire and of the Papacy meant the victory of the State over the Estates. In place of the feudal union came the class-State. Within the latter the conception of an individual ruler and the train of the inherited Will unite to produce the idea of Dynasty. This is a cosmic principle--all the state ideas of all the Cultures are but modifications of it. The capital takes the place of the castle and palace; the symbol of sovereignty becomes of prime importance. The dynastic ideas in China, Egypt, and the West are so similar that they point to a kinship of being in these three Cultures.

The Classical Culture is more unique. The oldest kingship had been strong by both individual rulership and the right to transmit to heirs. But the idea came to be questioned and underwent modification until the kingship became an office to be conferred by the nobles. The great offices which used to be hereditary became annual. Everywhere in the Classical Culture it was a denial of space and time and an emphasis upon the here and now. The city and the state became one. The contrast between this

Culture and that of the West is particularly noticeable.

> And thus, at the close of the early periods of both these Cultures, we see two principles parallel and contrasted, the Faustian-genealogical and the Apollonian-oligarchic; two kinds of constitutional law, of Dike. The one is supported by an unmeasured sense of expanse, reaches deep back into the past with form-tradition, thinks forward with the same intense will-to-endure into the remotest future; but in the present, too, works for political effectiveness over broad expanses by well-considered dynastic marriages and by the truly Faustian, dynamic, and contrapuntal politics that we call diplomacy. The other, wholly corporeal and statuesque, is self-limited by its policy of autarkeia to the nearest and the most immediate present, and at every point stoutly denies that which Western being affirms.[65]

Late Period. With the firing of the State-idea we pass to the Late Period of the Culture which is characterized by the actualization of the matured State-form. Again is experienced the conflict of the town and the countryside. Out of the former comes the Third Estate, the bourgeoisie. A world of states are fashioned in this era. It sees the climax of the state-form in Absolutism and its break-up in Revolution. The victory of the "people" over the privileged, of the intelligensia over tradition, of money over policy, are all but minor symbols of the victory of the city over the country.

We have seen the State advance from a feudal union to an aristocratic state. In place of the old Estates the conception of the nation is beginning to be set up. It

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65. Ibid., 381.

means that eventually the state will be governed as nation and not as class. Against this necessary evolution the old noble and priestly classes make one final effort. The importance of this struggle lies in the fact that the rulers had to call in the cities, the non-estates, to help them.

In Egypt this is the time of the Middle Kingdom. The XIth Dynasty had witnessed the overthrow of the baronage by the rulers of Thebes and the establishment of a centralized bureaucracy-state. The XIIth Dynasty was in severest conflict with the nobles in its effort to found an absolute state. One ruler barely escaped a court conspiracy, and upon his death rebellion was imminent. Another was murdered by the palace officials. This same time saw the cities reach the place where they were rich, independent, and warring. Supported by a few royal magnates they preserved the dynasty. Seostris III (1887-1850 B.C.) completely abolished the feudal nobility. Thereafter existed only a court nobility and a single, admirably ordered bureau-state. But already

> . . . some lamented that people of standing were reduced to misery and that the "sons of nobodies" enjoyed rank and consideration. Democracy was beginning and the great social evolution of the Hyksos period was brewing.[66]

In Classic Culture the Ionic (650-300 B.C.) is the

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66. Ibid., 387.

Late Period. The struggle here, where there was no dynasty to represent the future, took the form of a dynastic embodiment of the State-idea supported by the non-privileged of the nation. This was the Tyrannis. A family or faction of the nobility assumed the dynastic role and was backed by the Third Estate. The Tyrannis was the State and the oligarchy opposed it as a class. The former received the support of the peasant and burgher class. This sixth-century Tyrannis brought the city-state to its conclusions and created the concept of the citizen. The citizen became a political party, and democracy was established. The period of fulfillment and the climax of the state-form for the Classic world was the realization of the pure Polis and the corresponding absolutism of the Demos. It was the time of agora politics.

The Late Chou Period is the "contemporary" stage in China. It was the time of the Ming-Chu (683-591 B.C.) who were protectors of princely origin who exercised power over a series of states immersed in anarchy. They called congresses of princes and restored order and the recognition of firm political principles. Information concerning this era is slight, but Spengler concludes:

> . . . It is beyond all question that these great diplomatists were an element working with a devoted care for the State and the historical future against the old Estates, and supported by the younger classes of mind and money. . . . It is with them that the "people" first emerges as a political quantity.[67]

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67. Ibid., 388.

In the Western world the "contemporary" age is the Baroque Period (1500-1800). Similar struggles between the absolute State and the aristocratic State are to be found here. In France the Crown after 1614 did not summon the States-General any longer, thus weakening the power of the nobles. In England Charles I tried to get along without Parliament after 1628. In Germany the Thirty Years' War, while having profound religious significance, was also a struggle between the imperial power and the Fronde of the great electors. Spain had already attained its highest development in the absolute State of Philip II.

The international wars of this time were struggles for dynastic aggrandizment. Wars were undertaken for the exaltation of the royal family. All of the European countries, with the exception of England, were marked by a continued growth of monarchial power. But the great crises of this age were in the hands not of the actual occupants of the thrones but of great individual statesmen. Spain in its dream of world-dominion in Habsburg control had the genius of Olivarez in Madrid and Oñate in Vienna. Opposed to them were Wallenstein who stood for the Empire-idea in Germany, and Richelieu, proponent of the absolute State in France. They were succeeded by such as Mazarin in France, Cromwell in England, Oldenbarneveldt in Holland, and Oxenstierna in Sweden.

Wallenstein began where the Hohenstaufen had left off. His army in Germany was self-supporting, was independent of the Estates or princes, and is regarded by Spengler as "the first instance in German history of an Imperial army of Imperial significance."[68] He was dismissed through the influence of the princes upon the Emperor. He regained his power but thereafter was closer to the policy of the Estates. Hence, in Germany the absolute emperor state did not realize itself. "This," says Spengler, "was the decisive turn in later German history."[69]

About 1640 conflicts between Crown and Estates broke out simultaneously in Spain, France, and England. Spain lost forever Portugal, Africa, and India; but the kingship won unqualified victory. In France it was the time of the Fronde proper, but, crushed by Mazarin, it saw the further discrediment of the nobility and even stronger power of the royal authority. In England alone did the Fronde (represented by Parliament) succeed. Even Cromwell, in assuming dictatorial powers, encountered continued resistance. The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution illustrate further the degree to which the State and kingship were controlled.

This is the time of the actualization of the state-

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68. Ibid., 389.
69. Ibid., 390.

form. The century and a half from 1660 to 1814 is the time of the absolute state. Cabinet politics dominate the era. The wars of the Eighteenth Century were succession wars and saw the extinction of both lines of the Habsburgs. The nobility is cloistered about the court and is now loyal to the crown, carrying on its wars and organizing its administration. This is the period of Louis XIV and a little later of Frederick the Great. England and the Empire were the nations in which the Frondes had won, and they were governed not absolutely but aristocratically.

At the time when Culture is beginning to turn into Civilization the non-Estates begin to intervene in affairs as a decisive and independent force. It uses its strength for itself and stands as a class for freedom. It is the beginning of the bourgeois revolution. Connected with the bourgeoisie was the mob of the great city who, when the former opposed the old orders

> . . . forced itself into their ranks, pushed to the front, imparted most of the drive that wins the victory, and very often managed to secure the conquered position for itself . . . .[70]

Influential now as never before were abstract truths. Rationalism with its criticisms and conceptions began to deliver telling blows at the traditional order throught the medium of public opinion. At the same time comes the

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70. Ibid., 400.

influence of abstract money--money divorced from the prime values of the land. These two forces are inseparable. The study furnishes the ideals, but the counting house through control of the press and by electioneering prepares public opinion. "Intellect rejects, money directs--so it runs in every last act of a Culture-drama, when the magalopolis has become master of the rest."[71]

England was the home of both the ideal and real sides of Third Estate politics. Here both came into being without the destruction of the absolute state. France received her revolutionary ideas from England even as she had received the form of her absolute monarchy from Spain. The characteristic of the Revolution is its revolt from all form. Hence a dictatorship is quite acceptable in that it acknowledges no rules and is hostile to all that has grown up. The supreme example of this is found in France, beginning with Robespierre and being completed with Napoleon. This era in all Cultures is one of decline of political form and an upspringing of formless powers--designated Napoleonism from its most conspicuous example. Both Robespierre and Napoleon created an accidental régime the future of which depended on a adequate successor turning up.

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71. Ibid., 402.

Civilization. At this stage Culture passes over into Civilization. The general aspect of the era is that of cosmopolitan cities in which the people, now urban in constitution, dissolve into a formless mass or the Fourth Estate. It is a time in which money through the medium of democracy dominates, and economic powers permeate the political forms and authorities. This is followed by the formation of Caesarism which witnesses the triumph of force politics over money. Political forms become increasingly more primitive. The nations decline inwardly into a formless population over which is an ever-increasing crude and despotic imperium. It is a time of individual leaders in which private and family policies are the law. The various worlds slip into that static non-historical stage best described as Egyptism, Mandarinism, Byzantinism. The imperial power weakens in the face of young peoples eager for spoils and of alien conquerors. Through the impact of these, primitive human conditions make their appearance within the highly civilized mode of living.

In Egypt two centuries lie between the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties. The beginning of this era had seen the collapse of the ancien régime which had reached its culmination under Seostris III; its end saw the beginning of the New Empire. This is the Hyksos period. The Hyksos are designated by Egyptian papyrus as "the archer-folk

from without" which seems to indicate that the country was filled with barbarian mercenary troops. It was the time of utmost confusion. King succeeded king, or the names of kings paralleled each other. Obscure usurpers, generals, people with strange titles mounted the throne, some to reign but a few days. It is the time of social revolution portrayed by the Leiden Papyrus.

> The higher officials are displaced, the land robbed of its royalty by a few madmen, and the counsellors of the old state pay their court to upstarts; administration has ceased, documents are destroyed, all social differences abolished, the courts fallen into the hands of the mob. The noble classes go hungry and in rags, their children are battered on the wall, and their mumies torn from the grave. Mean fellows become rich and swagger in the palaces on the strength of the herds and ships that they have taken from their rightful owners. Former slave-girls become insolent and aliens lord it. Robbery and murder rule, cities are laid waste, public buildings burned down. The harvest diminished, no one thinks now of cleanliness, births are few--and oh, that mankind might cease![72]

The Hyksos set up a state in the Western delta and built a capital for it. One of their leaders, Khyan, ruled over all Egypt and spread his fame as far as Crete and the Euphrates. After his reigned a general fight of all the districts for the rule. From that struggle Amasis and the Theban dynasty emerged victorious. With Amasis came Caesarism. The antique forms were preserved, but they had no meaning. Importance centered in the power of the Caesar. Egypt from now on is the "recidive of a form-fulfilled

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72. Erman, "Mahnworte eines ägypt. Propheten" (Sitz. Preuss. Akad., 1919, pp. 704, et seq.) Cited in Spengler, DW, Vol.II, 127.

world into primitivism, into the cosmic-historyless. Biological stretches of time once more take the place vacated by historical periods."[73]

The "contemporary" period in the Classical Culture from 300-50 B.C. is likewise marked by an age of gigantic conflicts and the transition from Napoleonism to Caesarism. Instead of tradition there is the accident of great men--men who can bring a weak people like the Macedonians to the heights overnight and men whose accidental death can plunge a world from a personally ordered security to a chaos. History is formless. In the place of form is the great individual; Hannibal, Aemilius Paullus, Flaminius, the Catos, the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus. History revolves about questions of unofficial and eventually purely personal power. The armies of 300 B.C. were Roman armies; in 100 B.C. they were the armies of Marius, Sulla, and Caesar. Even the methods of war assumed raw-natural and ferocious forms in which it was a battle to the finish and exploitation without reserve or restraint by the victor. The beginning of Civilization in the Classical world saw the introduction of mechanical warfare on a large scale and the use of mass armies. The battle for the Roman Imperium was fought not between states but between political parties in the city of Rome. Gradually the parties became but retinues of the leaders. The conclusion saw on one side the sheer

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73. Ibid., 431.

omnipotence of the Caesar and on the other the narrow ideologues who sought to advance their ideals by conspiracy.

In the Chinese world the transition from Napoleonism to Caesarism took place in the Chan-Kwo, the "period of the Contending States" (480-230). At the beginning of the era were seven great powers. A century later there were five. The focus of the opposition was between the Hellenistic, dreaming and world-improving kingdom of Tsu and the Roman, hardened, will-to-power state of Tsin. The struggle continued over a long period of years, a million men falling in battle. The King of Tsin adopted the mystic Emperor title of the legendary age which expressed the claim to world-rule. Gradually the number of independent states grew less, and in 221 the Emperor Wang-Chen of Tsin became the sole ruler of China and the Imperial age began.

Because we of the West are still in the concluding phase of our Culture cycle, and because the section of Spengler's philosophy dealing with our age is of most interest to us, we will devote a separate chapter to a discussion of the final stages of Western Civilization. Here the final phenomena of a Culture can be dealt with in greater detail and will serve to throw light on what has previously been dealt with in bold brush strokes.

CHAPTER IV

ASPECTS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE HISTORY

I. MEGALOPOLITAN SOCIETY

> At the beginning, where the Civilization is developing to full bloom (today), there stands the miracle of the Cosmopolis, the great petrifact, a symbol of the formless--vast, splendid, spreading in insolence. It draws within itself the being-streams of the now impotent countryside, human masses that are wafted as dunes from one to another or flow like loose sand into the chinks of the stone. Here money and intellect celebrate their greatest and their last triumphs. It is the most artificial, the cleverest phenomenon manifested in the light-world of human eyes--uncanny, "too good to be true," standing already almost beyond the possibilities of cosmic formation.[1]

Materialism. The phenomenon of magalopolitanism is found in all declining Cultures, but here we choose to discuss it specifically under the caption of Western Civilization because we as a people are in that very phase at the moment. The cosmopolis is a complete revolt from all that is symbolic of nature.

> . . . Here the picture is of deep, long gorges between high, stony houses filled with coloured dust and strange uproar, and men dwell in these houses, the life of which no nature-being has ever conceived. Costumes, even faces, are adjusted to a background of stone. By day there is a street traffic of strange colours and tones, and by night a new light that outshines the moon. And the yokel stands helpless on the pavement, understanding nothing and understood by nobody, tolerated as a useful type in farce and provider of this world's daily bread.[2]

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1. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 431.
2. Ibid., 95.

men think completely in terms of things mechanical. A waterfall is seen in terms of horse-power, pasturing cattle are seen as potential meat supply, handwork of primitive people is contrasted with modern technical processes. So runs the revolt against nature. "All things organic are dying in the grip of organization. An artificial world is permeating and poisoning the natural."[3]

The period of concentration continues so that one city becomes symbolic of the whole. This capital city dominates the scene of history. In Classical Civilization it was Rome; in Egypt, Thebes; in Islam, Bagdad; in modern Germany, France, and England, Berlin, Paris, and London respectively. ". . . The rise of New York to the position of world-city during the Civil War of 1861-5 may perhaps prove to have been the most pregnant event of the nineteenth century."[4] The city becomes the very World. Spengler predicts for after A.D. 2000 cities laid out for ten to twenty million inhabitants, spread over vast areas with buildings and traffic communication that would appear fantastic to the present-day mind. Life becomes tense and knows no form of recreation but distraction. So it is in all world-cities of all civilizations. "Cinema, Expressionism, Theosophy, boxing contests, nigger dances, poker, and racing--one can find it all in Rome."[5]

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3. Spengler, MT, 94.
4. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 99.
5. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 103.

Sterility. Finally, so far has civilized man been carried from the soil, he turns toward death. The last man of the world city no longer wants to live. As an individual he may cling to life, but as an aggregate he turns against it. Family and name no longer carry meaning. His reaction against them takes the form of sterility. It begins with a prudent limitation of births. Man no longer chooses a woman as a prospective mother of his children but as a "companion for life." The type is symbolized by the women of Ibsen who instead of children have soul-conflicts.

> At this level all civilizations enter upon a stage which lasts for centuries, of appalling depopulation. The whole pyramid of cultural man vanishes. It crumbles from the summit, first the world-cities, then the provincial forms, and finally the land itself, whose best blood has incontinently poured into the towns, merely to bolster them up awhile. At the last, only the primitive blood remains, alive, but robbed of its strongest and most promising elements. This residue is the Fellah type.[6]

Such a phenomenon is to be found in the last centuries of all great Civilizations. In the West the great families of France were not so much eradicated by the Revolution as that they have died out since 1815. Their sterility has spread to the bourgeoisie and even to the peasantry since 1870. In England and America the same process procedes on a large scale. In the United States this is

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6. Ibid., 105.

particularly true of the Eastern states where the stock is best and oldest. The final stage witnesses the abandonment of the giant cities save for a small fellaheen population who shelter in them as the primitive man lived in caves and pile-dwellings.

> This, then, is the conclusion of the city's history; growing from primitive barter-center to Culture-city and at last to world-city, it sacrifices first the blood and soul of its creators to the needs of its majestic evolution, and then the last flower of that growth to the spirit of Civilization--and so, doomed, moves on to final self-destruction.[7]

Fellah People. The evolution of peoples may be expressed by the terms: primitives, Culture-peoples, and fellaheen classified as to whether they appear before, within, or after a Culture. Peoples of a Culture are Nations. They are the only ones capable of having world-history.

> Life as experienced by primitive and by fellaheen peoples is just the zoölogical up-and-down, a plan-less happening without goal or cadenced march in time, wherein occurences are many, but, in the last analysis, devoid of significance.[8]

The nations are the city building peoples. It is in the city and megalopis that the nation arises to its fullest world-consciousness. Within the nation it is always a minority group that represents the nation in history. First the nobility, then the burgher, and then the whole people believes itself to be the champion of the nation.

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7. Ibid., 107.
8. Ibid., 170f.

But a culture-people is never coincident with all--that is possible only among the primitive and fellaheen peoples. The spiritual leaders of the fellaheen are the world-citizens, the world-pacifists, the world-reconcilers. These leaders are a minority group of vastly superior intellect. They are not men of destiny but men of reason and causes. They advance not by the pulse of blood and being but by pure intellect. In the history of intellect these leaders may stand high, but in actual history they are inefficients. Under these anti-nationalists

> . . . the will-to-power has to retreat and make room for a tendency of which the standard-bearers are most often men without original impulse, but all the more set upon their logic; men at home in a world of truths, ideals, and Utopias; bookmen who believe that they can replace the actual by the logical, the might of facts by an abstract justice, destiny by reason. It begins with the everlastingly fearful who withdraw themselves out of actuality into cells and study-chambers and spiritual communities, and proclaim the nullity of the world's doings and it ends in every Culture with the apostles of world-peace.[9]

World improving theories result in a formless and history-less mass. The success of these world-improvers with their sentimental and fellaheen ideals means simply that one nation abdicates historically, not in favor of world peace but in favor of another nation that has not been so sentimental.

Art. Art also comes under the withering blight of megalopolitan civilization. Art today is falsehood and

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9. Ibid., 185.

impotence. It no longer springs from a deep inner necessity of the artists, but is the "product of industrious cobblers and noisy fools, who delight to produce something for the market . . . ."[10] It must be granted that there has always been superfluities among artists--that for every great artist there were always a hundred superfluous ones. But today exist only the superfluous ones--ten thousand of them--working art for a living. Art schools could all be destroyed without affecting art in the least. We can learn all that is necessary to be known about megalopolitan art by studying Alexandria.

Our art of today is

> a faked music, filled with artificial noitiness of massed instruments; a faked painting, full of idiotic, exotic and showcard effects, that every ten years or so concocts out of the form-wealth of millenia some new "style" which is in fact no style at all since everyone does as he pleases; a lying plastic that steals from Assyria, Egypt, and Mexico indifferently.[11]

In place of creative and interpretive symbolic genius is found revivals, borrowings, and new combinations. Gradually even this desire for change will disappear, and art will settle down to stock forms which are repeated in unending series. All art will finally be patternwork.

<u>Second Religiousness</u>. The spiritual termination of the West will be a Second Religiousness as has been

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10. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 293.
11. <u>Ibid</u>., 294.

the case in every other Culture. We of the West are as yet many generations short of that point. The Second Religiousness is marked by a great and deep piety. This piety is not the result of an unfolding but rather of a clearing away. It is a reversion to the old primitive first forms. The Second Religiousness comes because of the failure of Rationalism to give an adequate world view. A belief in reason and a profound faith in the results of physical science ends in skepticism when science reveals an ultimate nothing at the heart of things. With the possibilities of physics exhausted, a yearning for metaphysics presents itself afresh.

> But it is not the religious pastimes of educated and literature cooked cliques, still less is it the intellect that gives rise to the Second Religiousness. Its source is the naïve belief that arises unremarked but spontaneous, among the masses that there is some kind of mystic constitution of actuality . . . and an equally naïve heart-deep reverently responding to the myth with a cult.[12]

The exact form of the Second Religiousness cannot be determined, but it will contain certain elements of Gothic Christianity such as adventism and the like. That we are moving in such a direction is to be seen by the fact that no longer do we hold rigidly to the opinions of Darwin, Comte, and Spencer as did the best minds of the last century. In the end Second Religiousness issues in fellah-religions that, though marked by superficial

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12. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 311.

changes, are essentially historyless.

II. THE RISE IN FAUSTIAN CIVILIZATION

Spengler well recognized the meaning of technics in Faustian Civilization. The last chapter of *The Decline of the West* was devoted to "The Machine." It was quite fitting then that Spengler's next publication of importance should be *Man and Technics*.

Meaning and Origin. Western man during the past century had two views of the place occupied by technics in history. The idealist saw technics and economics as standing below and outside of Culture while the materialist glorified technics and utility as Culture itself. The former attitude was characterized by a lack of reality; the latter, by a "devastating shallowness." With the present century both methods are to be discarded, and their place to be taken by the realization of an inexorable Destiny.

To understand technics in present Faustian Civilization, it is necessary to see its beginnings. "*Technics is the tactics of living* . . . ."[13] Not implements or things but purposive activity is of the essence of technics. Technics is to be seen as one side of an active, fighting life. Its path can be traced from the primeval

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13. Spengler, MT, 10.

warrings of now extinct beasts to the designs of modern engineers and inventors on Nature. Coincidental with this is the fact that man is a beast of prey. Ideals that deny this fact are cowardice.

In the hierarchy of life the plant, seen as a mere theater of processes, stands at the bottom. In the animal world there are the herbivores that feed upon the plant world and the carnivores whose living consists in killing. Both species of animal have a definite technique for carrying on life. This technique, as distinct from that of man, is generic; and, in being generic, it is both unalterable and impersonal. Human technique is unique in that it is conscious, alterable, personal, inventive. Man occupies his unique position through the genesis of the hand, which came about as a sudden mutation, and by virtue of which he can command the world practically. With his hand, his weapon, and his personal thinking man became creative. In personal deeds he is able to call into being phenomena of Nature--against Nature. With the creative act the soul of man now forms. Man realizes his destiny and his power. His soul "stands in irreconcilable opposition to the whole world, from which its own creativeness has sundered it. It is the soul of an upstart."[14] This opposition is present in

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14. Ibid., 42.

everything that man does. Everything that he creates is artificial. The privilege of creation he has taken from nature, and hence all that he creates is in opposition to nature. World history is

> . . . the history of a steadily increasing, fateful rift between man's world and the universe--the history of a rebel that grows up to raise his hand against his mother.
>
> This is the beginning of man's tragedy--for Nature is the stronger of the two. Man remains dependent on her, for in spite of everything she embraces him, like all else, within herself. All the great cultures are defeats. Whole races remain, inwardly destroyed and broken, fallen into barrenness and spiritual decay, as corpses on the field. The fight against Nature is hopeless and yet--it will be fought out to the bitter end.[15]

By another sudden mutation came the power of speech and with it the possibility of "collective doing by plan" or the enterprise. Collective doing increases the artificiality of the procedure. The idea of building, the breeding of plants and animals, and their cultivation are all indicative of the trend. Simultaneously with collective doing comes a differentiation between those who plan and those who carry out. Each entails a distinct technique and a certain kind of man. ". . .There are men whose nature is to command and men whose nature is to obey, subjects and objects of the political or economic process in question."[16] Both the leader and the led as members of an organization, a state, become

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15. Ibid., 44f.
16. Ibid., 65.

increasingly dependent on one another. Man in his revolt against Nature becomes the slave of his own creation. "The Culture, the aggregate of artificial, personal, self-made life-forms, develops into a close barred cage for those souls that would not be restrained."[17]

From 3000 B.C. and on grew up the big Cultures. Their symbol was the city, something completely anti-natural. Here appeared society, and artificial gradation. Here luxury and wealth reigned. The Faustian Culture, while not the last of the Cultures, is the most powerful and passionate, and represents the victory of pure technical thought over big problems. Within Western Culture as in every other Culture appear the two primary classes: nobility and priesthood. The former lives in the world of facts; the latter in the realm of truths. The former is a <u>destiny</u>; the latter thinks in causality.

> The one would make intellect the servant of a strong living, the other would subject his living to the service of the intellect. And nowhere has this opposition taken more irreconcilable form than in the Faustian Culture, in which the proud blood of the beast of prey revolts for the last time against the tyranny of pure thought. From the conflict between the ideas of Empire and Papacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the conflict between the forces of a thoroughbred tradition--kingship, nobility, army--and the theories of plebeian rationalism, liberalism, and socialism . . . history is one sequence of efforts to get the decision.[18]

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17. <u>Ibid</u>., 69.
18. <u>Ibid</u>., 79f.

In the West there were Vikings of the mind as well as Vikings of the blood. The former as northern monks pried deep into nature's secrets by means of the working hypothesis and the experiment. Over the idea of perpetual motion haunted the Faustian mind. The beast of prey had as his prospective booty the enslavement and harnessing of the very forces of nature. The monks were followed by Copernicus and Galileo. Their place was taken by the cultured lay inventor, the priest of the machine. With rationalism, technics became a materialistic religion. Technics is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be worshipped by the optimistic philistine. The work of the inventor is the expression of his personality. As a preying animal it is his delight in victory. He is not interested in utility or in the fact that his discoveries doom the workers. Between the workers and the creators springs up an animosity, but neither can alter the destiny of machine-technics which had developed because of inner spiritual necessity and is now maturing toward its fulfillment and end.

The Finale of Technics. As man revolted against nature so now is his own creation, the machine, revolting against him. The Twentieth Century saw the Nordic nations controlling the world. Their political power was dependent on their wealth and their wealth in turn upon their industrial strength. Markets and raw materials were

secured by means of armies and navies. But now the Western World has entered into a period of high tension. The World has become so completely mechanized and organized that things organic are dying within it. Western Civilization could stay on the heights as long as engineers are forthcoming. But, says Spengler,

> the Faustian thought begins to be sick of machines. A weariness is spreading, a sort of pacifism of the battle with Nature. Men are returning to forms of life simpler and nearer to Nature. . . .[19]

The vikings of the Mind have turned to pure speculation. Occultism, Spiritualism, Hindu philosophies, metaphysical inquiries are taking the place of practical problems and science. The final stages of the Machine Age are marked by three steps: (a) the flight of the born leader from the machine, (b) the mutiny of the hands, (c) treason to technics. The hitherto monopoly of the West has been lost. The dissemination of industry saw the shipment to all points of the world of secrets, processes, methods, engineers, and organizers. Technics in the hands of the "coloured races" will shatter the economic organization of the Nordic races. This is the reason for widespread unemployment. The latter is not a crisis but the beginning of a catastrophe. The tecnics of the West are not an inner necessity to the "coloured races," and once they have served their purposes they will be discarded.

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19. Ibid., 97.

III. WESTERN POLITICS

World Wars. In the western world the period of Contending States began with Napoleon--the first to make effective the idea of a military and at the same time popular world domination. Following Napoleon was a century of immense armaments. The period was marked by a scarcity of revolutions and wars because nations in the eleventh hour feared the consequences and settled crises by congresses.

> It is a war without war, a war of overbidding in equipment and preparedness, a war of figures and tempo and technics . . . . The longer the discharge was delayed, the more huge became the means and the more intolerable the consequences.[20]

With the World War the discharge came and with it ended the first century of the period of Contending States.

But the World War was but the first flash from the thunder-cloud that is passing over our age. "The great game of world politics is not over. Only now are the highest stakes being played for. Every living nation must rise to greatness or go under."[21] Our age is not to be one of happiness—greatness and happiness are not compatible. Human desires and wishes play no part in world-history. We have either to seize greatness or repudiate it--be a subject or an object of history. But

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20. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 429.
21. Spengler, HD, ix.

in these stupendous times there is a universal dread of reality. Megalopolitan man is spiritually weak in the face of the relentless destiny of history and takes refuge in solitude, imaginary systems, suicide, hopes, ideals, or cowardly optimism. Again it is the ageless conflict between the Vikings of the Mind and the Vikings of the Blood. The former with their rationalism--which includes idealists, materialists, and romanticists--all seek by means of "progress", shallow optimism, and theoretical schemes to escape destiny. The skeptic, however, sees events as facts and realizes that the forces to sway the future are those of the past: the will of the strong, healthy instincts, race, the will to possession and power. Today this Nordic feeling is spreading throughout the world from England to Japan. Man is ever a beast of prey, and conflict is the original and basic fact of life itself.

The World War was inevitable.

> We have entered upon the age of world wars. It began with the nineteenth century and will outlast the present and probably the next. It signifies the transition from the eighteenth century world of states to the Imperium mundi.[22]

Metternich at the Congress of Vienna realized that old Europe was "at the beginning of its end," and that new Europe was "in the state of becoming." Between those two eras chaos must reign. That chaos was forestalled during

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22. Ibid., 24.

the past century by the system of balance of power and armament races as potential warfare. At the same time the dynastic state yielded to the nationalist state. The latter, a product of rationalism, is theoretical, formless, rulerless, aimless, and without internal destiny. Imperialism was no longer the high policy of the diplomat but the means of the economic and materialistic business man. Even the mass armies of the past century rested on an economic basis. The wealth necessary to perpetuate them lay in an industrial system which itself has become a weapon. The materialistic and plebian forces have adopted economic warfare as a means of fighting more to their liking. But, holds Spengler,

> cannon are in the last resort stronger than coal. There is no telling how this economic war will end, but it is certain that it will restore to the State as authority its historical rights, based on voluntary, and therefore reliable, thoroughly trained, and highly mobile armies--and will push back economics to the second place where they belong.[23]

Survey of the Nations. Only one nation can give its name to the imperium mundi. The powers that are to wage the final war for supremacy are beginning to shape themselves.

> Nations of a new order are about to rise . . . elective affinities of men with a common feeling about life . . . men of race . . . of strong instincts . . . men who feel themselves born and called to be masters.[24]

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23. Ibid., 88.
24. Ibid., 331.

surveying the nations of today (1934) Spengler doubts the power of Russia. That nation can conduct foreign wars only by means of propaganda. Russia's very foundations are weak since they are laid upon the theoretical, rationalistic principles of the West. Her best weapon is economic annihilation and revolution. Japan has a strong position and can make of the China Sea a Japanese lake. Japan is slowly encroaching upon China. The only counteracting force being met is that of the Red Revolution. If Japan still possesses its old offensive power as manifest by the Samurai, it can deal with any enemy combination. The United States is the only serious opponent of Japan, but it is too far away to be dangerous. Besides, Japan has potential allies in Latin America. The United States as yet is neither a real nation nor a real state. It is much like Russia. A vast breadth of landscape bounded by two oceans makes it safe from invaders and prevents the development of any political outlook. Like Russia, life is organized from the economic side. In the United States also exists a dictatorship that is imposed by a society that standardizes all Americans. A form of state capitalism is similar in structure to the State Socialism of Russia. Russia has her "Asia for the Asiatics" while the United States has the Monroe Doctrine. On the political side the United States has a navy that rivals Britain's and has expanded into colonies. Because of her participa-

tion in the World War she had become a leading element in international politics and must play her role as a State or go under. Whether or not this is possible only the future can reveal. "What is 'hundred per cent Americanism'? A mass existence standardized to a low average level, a primitive pose, or a promise for the future."[25] England's wealth will not permit her to keep up the present rate of armaments. Submarines and airplanes now peril her position as "mistress of the seas." England itself has lost its spirit and race. Complete equality to the white dominions took from England her last vestige of priority. For the future the Latin countries will have no more than a provincial significance. Italy as long as Mussolini lives may gain a basis for a world power in the Mediterranean area, but such will probably be but an evanescent phenomenon. France, too, is passing. The predominant Girondist element express the desire of a

> . . . people that has become weary and unfruitful through uncleanness, avarice, and stolidity: a little money, wine and "amour," but no more world politics, economic ambition, struggles for vital aims.[26]

The Jacobin element which embodied the true spirit of Chauvinism is rapidly disappearing. Spengler's main national interest is Germany. This is her "hour of decision." Germans must realize that

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25. Ibid., 67.
26. Ibid., 76f.

> . . . standing out of world politics does not give protection from the consequences of them . . . . The throwing of the dice for world-mastery has only just begun. There will be strong players who finish the game. Are there not to be Germans as well as others among them?[27]

Class War. But not only is the present age one of world wars but also of world-revolutions. We are in the very midst of these latter in this era. World-revolutions are of two kinds: one, which has been in operation for a century, between the ruling classes of the white nations and those below; secondly, one that has only recently set in, the collective attack upon the white races by the colored populations. The former revolution is the result of the organization of the cosmopolitan masses by business politicians and professional revolutionists for their own ends. Starting with a radical democractic anarchy, it eventuates in a virtual "dictatorship from below." Contrary to Marxian principles, revolution is not the result of economic processes, but is the result of a culture that has matured to its limits and is now disintegrating inwardly. A nation when in form is marked by a distinct difference between ranks. Society in fact rests upon the inequality of men. The doctrine of "equal rights" is a substitution for something that has grown up naturally and that is fortified by centuries of tradition. The noble world is opposed by the hatred of the dregs of

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27. Ibid., 79f.

society

> . . . political and literary Bohemia, wastrel nobility, ship-wrecked academicians, adventurers and speculators, criminals, and prostitutes, loiterers, and the feeble-minded, mixed with a few pathetic enthusiasts for some abstract ideal.[28]

Such as these organize the masses of the city and give them the power of franchise, freedom of the press, and terrorism. Its ideal is Nihilism that seeks to destroy everything of the old Culture and tradition. The goal of the Revolution is the leveling of society. Democracy leads inexorably to Bolshevism. Without going into the history of the various social and labor movements, it can be said that the White Revolution has now reached its goal--it has finally precipitated the world economic crisis.

> The world economic crisis of this year and a good many next years is not, as the whole world supposes, the temporary consequence of war, revolution, inflation, and payment of debts. It has been willed. In all essentials it is the product of the deliberate work of the leaders of the proletariat.[29]

The labor leader emerged as the true victor of 1918. The governments have been dependent upon labor more and more since 1916, and as a result labor has conducted its class war by extravagant raising of wages, reduction of working hours, taxes on incomes, on family properties, on industry, and on the peasants. Further drains on industry came in widespread concern for the worker's whole existence in all kinds of insurance, workers'

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28. Ibid., 93.
29. Ibid., 147.

dwellings, playgrounds, convalescence homes, libraries, amusements. Such a process eventuated in the expropriation of the whole economic system in the interest of one class. Wage pressure led to an hectic pace in economic development. To meet the wage demand production had to be stepped up and efforts to dispose of the products led to imperialism and high-powered advertising. With the increase in wages came an increase in the cost of production and a corresponding decline in the value of money. The expansion of finance and the overstrain of currency led indubitably to the crash of the markets. With the indebtedness of industry constantly increasing and in danger of going under, the resultant consequence was a demand that the State expropriate the works.

Caesarism. The world-revolution is not over--the most forceful decades are only setting in upon us. The two fronts still exist. One, the "Left," is characterized by majority parties, programs, belief in the power of abstractions to control reality, a leveling instinct, and lack of respect for property. The other front, Caesarism, is marked by strong minorities, will to possession, race, and force of arms. Fascism is but a transition to Caesarism. The importance of Fascism for the future lays not in its party but in its leader.

> Mussolini is first and foremost a statesman, ice-cold and skeptical, realist, diplomat. He does in very truth rule alone. . . . The perfection of Caesarism is dictatorship--not the dictatorship of a party, but that of one man against all parties, and, most of all, above his own.[30]

The two fronts can be contrasted as "Prussianism" and "Socialism," the latter in its common meaning as a "mass ideology with material aims." Prussianism is not a catchword but a living ideal. It is characterized by disciplined devotion, self-command, freedom through duty. Contrasted to socialism it demands that the economic life of the nation shall be disciplined by a powerful state. It entails a precedence of foreign policy over internal policy. For individuals it means self-discipline. Through a Prussian ordering of existence a starting point for the overcoming of the World Revolution may be found. Nationalism as manifest in the movements of today is a transition toward Caesarism. Individualism is the true Nordic life form.

Colored Revolution. Not only does Western Civilization face class war but also race war. The latter began with the World War when the colored races (Africa, India, Islam, China, Japan, Russia) were admitted to the League and were allowed to have a say in the disputes of white races. The West lost the World War in losing the

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30. Ibid., 167f.

respect of the colored races. Already the West has lost its industrial monopoly to the colored races. Their lower wages contrasted with the luxury wage of the West have permitted them to gain control of no small amount of industry. This is the first indication that the White world supremacy is threatened. The colored races have used the class war of the White races as their own tool. The White Revolution has everywhere prepared soil for the Colored one. Under national, economic, and social tendencies the Colored Revolution marches on. All of its manifestations are marked by deep-seated hatred of the White race and an unconditional determination to destroy it.

To oppose this menace the West lacks even spiritual power. Even material power is lacking as seen by the sterility, the decay of the family, and the decrease of population in the West. The Western race is becoming weakened by the restrictions of medicine and social service on the former severe natural selection processes. To produce a strong race is needed a primitive barbarism that lays latent in the old Culture forms of today. Germany today of all Western nations is the least exhausted because used sparingly by history. As yet the German people have not had a fullness of life. Within them is to be found abundant qualities of the best of blood. Germany lives the Prussianism as a fact within itself.

Germany is the key country of the world--it is young enough yet to tackle great problems that other nations can only raise defenses against.

CHAPTER V

CRITICISM

I. INTRODUCTION

One approaches Spengler in the rôle of critic with no small degree of apprehension. His formidable array of facts, his ponderous language, and his passionate spirit of expression all tend to produce in the critic an anxiety and a misgiving that may give his criticism an apologetic note. And here a word as to the present mode of criticism may be added. It would require a battery of skilled specialists in a wide range of fields to approximate an even partial criticism of Spengler. Yet such criticism, if limited merely to the verification of facts, would be in the nature of the sniper who under cover contents himself with taking pot shots at the enemy. Instead of this type of warfare, mines must be tunnelled, barrages laid down, and aerial surveys taken. Such criticism as we adopt here, then, is not limited so much to individual facts and specific details but is concerned, rather, with general statements and broad judgments. Rather than follow any particular aspect of Spengler, we feel that

> . . . we must take him as a whole. Perhaps it is just as a whole that he offers his heaviest challenge. In the mere fact that one of the greatest of living minds and poets could deliver such a prophecy,

> lies the weight of his import. To ignore him would be to pass over the leading single fact of present intellectual life. To answer him, in acquiescence or in a valid criticism, is the necessity that faces each thinking man today.[1]

Our attempt to formulate a valid criticism of Spengler will take two main channels. First, a theoretical criticism of his methodology and basic principle. Secondly, a practical criticism of the results of such a philosophy.

II. METHODOLOGY

Intuition. The single word that best describes Spengler's method of approach to history is "intuition."

> Sympathy, observation, comparison, immediate and inward certainty, intellectual flair. . . . Now these are the means of historical research--precisely these and no others.[2]

Again and again Spengler asserts that the essential factor in the production of history is intuition, inner vision. Men do not need to think in the domain of history for its knowledge is "eternally inaccessible to learned investigation." Reason, cogitation, and any rational procedure is out of place in the field of history. Because history, the past, cultures, nations, arts, and even mathematics are organisms, they must be investigated not by systematic methods but by physiognomic methods. Reggart, passing judgment of modern thought upon this procedure, concludes:

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1. Wale, CD, 147.
2. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 25.

> Modern scholarship is not at odds with intuition and vision, but it insists that men should know and confess the sources from which they have derived their inspiration and their facts. Modern scholarship, no less than modern science, relies upon intuition and imagination, but it demands that all "imaginings" be subjected vigorously to the process of verification—a doctrine which Spengler regards as a distinctive feature of a declining civilization.[3]

Dismissal of Reason. But can any philosophy be constructed or any meaningful prophecy be delivered that denies and excludes the factor of reason? The absolute reality of things cannot be learned by merely living, feeling, and relying on intuition. Experience and idea cannot be separated nor can imagination and reason. A single state of consciousness cannot recognize the whole of reality--observation, examination, and intelligence are also needed. The relation between certain experiences and objects may be unconsciously felt, but one cannot intuit the totality of the world. Mere experience presents itself as an incomprehensible mass of sensations. These sensations and our reactions and impressions gain meaning only inasmuch as reflective reason works upon them. But Spengler denies the rational method with its unifying conceptions. In its place are put the conceptions of intuition. Such approaches may have certain beauty about them, but they are exceedingly vague. Such an approach can never bring any true realization of unity,

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3. Rev. 1, 598.

of law, of principle.

That Spengler had a "method in his madness" in accepting the approach of intuition and rejecting that of reason is evident when one comes to examine critically his philosophy. His philosophy, based as it is on an elaborate structure of historical analogies and comparisons, impresses one greatly. "But," suggests William Harlan Hale,

> suppose some one should object, for example, to Spengler's preposterous dismissal of the Renaissance as merely a minor eddy in the history of western culture--"minor" only because it obviously lacks any analogous phenomenon in any culture of the past? Spengler has armored himself against any such criticism. He has denied the value of all rationality and scientific examination; one must proceed, he says, by intuition, feeling, soul. He has "felt" the Renaissance true; we bring historical proofs to the contrary; but of course we do not register. Causality, judgment, examination are to play no part in his theory. He is not to be tested by the standards of men. He stands above us, he claims a superior validity. His work is messianic, not scholarly. So, while Spengler can criticize all other historians, no one can effectively criticize him. And yet, is not his theory too built up on books, on relics, on studied evidences and scholarly fragments of the archaeologist's past?[4]

Myth-Making. Now no one, much less a philosopher and an historian, can renounce reason and dismiss rationality without getting into rather serious difficulties. Such a man will certainly not write philosophy or history --at least not in the conventional sense. Says W. H.

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1. CD, 1[illegible].

Stewart: "No cause-and-effect philosophy for him any more, but religious belief in destiny; history is to be pitched to the stars, not to the belly of man! "[5] Spengler becomes so metaphysical and mystical in many of his conclusions that they lie in the realm of faith where they can be neither proved nor refuted. So far does Spengler wander from the paths of reason that he opens himself to the criticism of Alan Millple "of grand poetical myth-making . . . . unbottressed by any real evidence."[6] J. T. Shotwell comes to a similar conclusion:

> This is myth-making; it is poetry. In the hands of Spengler it is massive and splendid poetry because the structure of his thought is architecturally magnificent, powerful in outline and beautiful in detail. Nevertheless, it is a dream structure and should not be taken for reality.[7]

<u>Structural Fallacies</u>. If "tall stories" be repeated a sufficient number of times they come eventually to be taken for truth by the raconteur. A similar process seems to operate in the case of the thinker. His dream structure or idea comes to be mistaken for reality. This fact, the crux of Spengler's logical difficulties, is well-summarized by Edward Scanlon: "What is necessary is to distinguish between Dr. Spengler's living idea and his elevation of it to a complete and final philosophy."[8]

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5. Rev. 1.
6. Rev. 1, 49.
7. Art. 1, 264.
8. Rev. 1.

Spengler has fallen into "the universal fallacy," what Bowne[9] called the "fallacy of the universal." Akin to it is the "fallacy of abstraction." The essence of these structural fallacies "consist in overlooking the truth of metaphysical individualism and in mistaking class terms for things or the classifying processes of our thought for the processes of reality."[10] It is necessary in human thought to classify things and put them into categories for convenience and easy reference. But when one regards these classifications as actual and real, he is treading logical quicksand.

That Spengler has committed these very errors his critics have not been slow in pointing out. Lewis Mumford, while emphasizing the need for general and class terms, clearly states the latent danger in their usage.

> Unfortunately, all categories tend to become independent and rigid in the mind of the thinker; and Spengler's are no exception to this rule. His cultures not merely have a separate existence; they become insulated in his mind like islands separated by perilous seas.[11]

Mumford amplifies the criticism:

> It is the same with Spengler's division between Destiny and Causality, between nobility and priesthood, Country and City: the categories themselves

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9. Borden P. Bowne--PTK
   Theory of Thought and Knowledge
   Chapter XI "Some Structural Fallacies."
   New York: American Book Company, 1897.
10. Knudson, PP, 188f.
11. Rev. 2, 140.

> are distinct, but in life, as Samuel Butler reminds us, everything is mixed with a little of the opposite; and if the mind is not continually to stultify itself, it must become conscious of its own native bias and reintroduce gradation, intermixture, fluidity, into all of its formal divisions. Spengler fails, totally, to make this correction. . . . (Categories) are conveniences of thought but they have never existed in actuality, without interacting and responding to the ideas or conditions created by each other. . . . There are in life an infinite number of gradations, although the necessities of speech, thought, and action, compel us to ignore most of them. . . . Spengler's crucial mistake is to carry this fixed intellectual separation on to a heroic plane of error.[12]

Chant and Joyce reach similar conclusions from the standpoint of anthropologists. Stating Spengler's main thesis, they conclude:

> This should not be condemned off-hand on scientific grounds, but the artificial simplification of the past into the hard black and white of such a picture can never bear more than a relation of cousinship to the carefully qualified gray of scientific truth.[13]

Waldo Frank looks at Spengler through the medium of Leibnitz. He sees Spengler's cultures as monads. Each has its own life and death. Each can but impede the others--there is no interpenetration or mutual understanding or cause and effect relationship. Frank concludes:

> Now the trouble with these organisms is that they are placed <u>in vacuo</u>. They are described as evolving their destiny sheerly out of themselves, without relational struggle, drama, reaction, interference. And yet they are also described as having the nature of biologic organisms: i.e., they have youth, maturity, old age; they have a specific life span. But no organisms known to man exist in this utter isolation. One and all, they arise from other organisms like

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12. Ibid., 140.
13. Art. 1, 766.

> them, they live in a continuum of interaction with other organisms like them, they give birth before death or in death to other organisms like them. The Culture-organisms of Spengler do not seem to be really alive: they are mere synthetic constructions of the author.[14]

A few pages on in the same article Frank further writes:

> The Culture-organism is a notion abstracted from human life. It <u>is</u> an abstraction. And abstractions are needed for intellectual work. . . . The danger rises when we forget that abstractions are of use <u>qua</u> abstractions.
>
> Indeed, the idea of the periodic rise and fall of man is probably an abstraction. Yet it is justified so long as we employ it either to criticize the past or envisage a greater future. Both of these acts require the analytic method: and analysis <u>is</u> abstraction.[15]

<u>Deductive Method</u>. Still considering the methodology that would eventuate in such a philosophy as Spengler's we come to the conclusion that at bottom it rests on a repudiation of the inductive method. In passing this judgment the author is in harmony with the majority of critics. There are some staunch defenders of Spengler who insist that his philosophy

> . . . does not rest on deductive logic; its author came to his conclusions only after an extensive study of the facts and did not manipulate his material to suit his private preconceptions.[16]

But a philosopher who contemptuously dismisses reason and who in his own investigation insists upon intuition as the only valid method of investigation would hardly be

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14. Rev. 1, 596f.
15. Ibid., 600.
16. Anon., <u>Living Age</u>, 343 (1932), 64.

on to "come to his conclusions only after an extensive study of the facts." Rather Spengler repudiates the rigid inductive method proceeding from scientific observation and substitutes for it a method of intuitive induction. The theory that is arrived at by this method is applied to the actual historical happenings. Though Spengler disparages reason and rational procedure of any kind, the testing of his theory in the presence of the various bodies of facts constitutes a process of verification. The deductive method is used by all scientists and against its usage within prescribed limits nothing can be said. If theory and fact fit together in the great majority of cases without any violence being done to the latter, it would appear that the theory was reasonable and that a case could be made for it.

Selected Data. All historians must choose certain facts and omit others, and, in this light, all history-writing must be viewed as something of an art. But when an historian selects only those facts which bear out his own conclusions of what history must be and ignores from consideration those which seemingly contradict his preconceived scheme, the resulting product is apt to differ radically from the original reality. And here a word from Hale is important.

> The whole use of selected historical data to prove a universal thesis is a dangerous business; it may act

> as a boomerang. Its force lies in the first impression: one is surprised, intoxicated, carried away by the revelation of hitherto unsuspected relationships. And the comparison or juxtaposition of facts always carries apparent clarity and strength. But when one begins to go from the facts he has mentioned to those he has not, then the joyousness may pass.[17]

We may illustrate this accusation by a specific example. During the course of our presentation Spengler's assertion that the Classical Culture is static and limited to the "here and now" has been frequently noted. Spengler introduces a vast array of data that apparently validates his conclusions. But Spengler has ignored such Classical modes of perpetuation as the Greek epitaph, the Greek tombstone, the ephebic oath, the cult of the vestals, and the reconstruction of temple sites. Nor does Spengler mention that Xenophanes observed fossil fish and drew correct inferences as to the rise and fall of the land in ages past. Parmenides was greatly concerned with the vast promises of "Becoming," Pythagoras regarded the circle as perfect as never ending, Plato's chief problem was to prove the existence of eternal heavenly patterns, and Zeno was interested in infinite divisibility.

The fallacy of Spengler's assertion that the Greeks possessed no idea of time is best shown in a lengthy article by Herman Rausheer on "Plato's Conception of the

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17. CD, 1[illegible]f.

Future as Opposed to Spengler's." In it he attempts to prove that

> Plato had not only a general notion of the future; but he assigned diverse meaning to the concept. . . . 1. as an unspecific mode of time, 2. as a mode of technical improvements, 3. as a mode of organic evolution, 4. as a mode of physical chronology, 5. as a mode of physical growth, 6. as a mode of moral evolution, 7. as a mode of intellectual development, and 8. as a mode of political progress.[18]

After examining each one of these concepts carefully and in comparison with Spengler's own statements, Kausheer concludes:

> It follows from the above considerations that Spengler's flat assertion of the Greeks not possessing any sense of time and future is invalid in its major contentions, and that his own views are a direct modern extension of the Heraclitean, and in part, of the Platonic conception of time.[19]

Warning of History. Not only does Spengler, as we have already shown, do violence to truth by omitting those facts which do not fit into his scheme but combines two facts to make them to suffer. According for our specific example to the Arabian Culture, two problems of which occupy a good quarter of the second volume of The Decline of the West, we see we already primarily that there was so little coincidence between theory and fact that a new theory of pseudomorphosis had to be formulated to cover the case in question. Pseudomorphosis is a term

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18. Art. 1, 236.
19. Ibid., 224.

used in mineralogy to describe the process by which the minerals embedded in a rock structure are washed out, and volcanic eruptions cause these "molds" to be filled with other materials. These new materials often assume distorted forms and shapes. Spengler uses this figure to explain the "accidents" that have entered into the realm of history and which threaten to destroy the scheme of "natural" development.

> By the term "historical pseudomorphosis" I propose to designate those cases in which an older alien Culture lies so massively over the land that a young Culture, born in this land, cannot get its breath and fails not only to achieve pure and specific expression-forms, but even to develop fully its own self-consciousness.[20]

Such a procedure seems to warrant the criticism of Sanford who accused Spengler of "open contempt for objective proof. He makes up history and science as he goes along. ..." [21] This danger in Spengler was suggested by Mumford in an earlier review.

> When one generalizes the facts of history into a finished picture, one runs the risk of delivering further generalizations by a Caesarian operation, at the sacrifice of the facts that bore them.[22]

Returning to our consideration of the Arabian Culture we discover that Spengler is forced to admit that history has made mistakes in the past. "The Pseudomorphosis began with Actium; there it should have been Antony

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20. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 189.
21. Rev. 3, 194.
22. Rev. 1, 366.

who was."[23] "Should" so that Spengler's thesis might be proven. Spengler is faced with the same problem that confronted Augustine--that of combining "accident" and "natural" development. In Spengler's case, to bring together the "accident" of historical facts and the "natural" scheme of his own metaphysical theory, he is forced to assert that history may be "false or artificial." "False or artificial" because it does not fit in with the preconceived notions of his theory. Now such a process is neither philosophy nor history. It is the logical result of an investigator who rejects rationality and inductive reasoning and who, with an intuitive insight of the process of history, builds dream structures that are asserted to be real and for the foundations of which selected and chiseled stones are chosen. The whole argument seems to point to a man who is interested in proving a theory rather than in discovering truth. Teggart well-summarizes this basic inconsistency in Spengler.

> Spengler makes use of materials, in themselves of great interest, derived from recent authorities, but on the basis of these materials he strives by every artifice of assertion, to uphold a theory which the enumerated facts disprove. Is it not to be wondered at, then, that we should be perplexed and skeptical when confronted with such a distortion of rational procedure? What the facts adduced by Spengler show is that the 'Arabian Culture' was the product of a 'native' culture subjected to a succession of intrusive cultural influences. Had he examined the facts with the intent of finding an hypothesis, in-

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23. Spengler, DW, Vol. II, 191.

> stead of imposing upon them his own 'intuitive' explanation, he would have discovered that human advancement has been due to 'contact,' not to 'development'--but then "Decline of the West" would never have been written.[24]

Subjectivism. It must be granted that it is virtually impossible to be absolutely objective in history,--that the writing of history involves certain subjective and personal attitudes. But Spengler carries the subjective approach to an extreme. His entire method revolves about a personal standard. Often "the less he knows about the particular phase of history with which he is dealing the more utterly arbitrary and accidental does his classification become."[25] Spengler lacks information concerning many of the epochs of history, but on the basis of his own standards he writes the history of the period as it will be, was, or should have been. The inadequacy of his data and the consequential weakness of his whole generalized system is stressed by Shaw.

> We have here the remarkable spectacle of a botanist magisterially formulating a law of the life and growth of plants on the strength of nine specimens, three or four of which he has seen only through field glasses, one of which was accidentally sown in a cellar and another of which has only burst the seed case.[26]

Internal Contradictions. Before passing on to a consideration of the practical weaknesses of Spengler's philosophy some of his theoretical contradictions must be

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24. Rev. 1, 599.
25. Anon., The New Statesman, 27(1926), 552.
26. Rev. 2.

noted. The first of these is suggested by an anonymous English reviewer who sees as the fundamental defect in Dr. Spengler's system the fact

> . . . that its conclusions stand in amazing contradictions to its premises. It is put forward as "the philosophy of the future. . . . the only philosophy which is within the possibilities of the West-European mind, in its next stages." So this West-European mind, whose outstanding quality is its emancipation from the world of sense, its concentration on all possible relationships, its pursuit of the infinite, is to be summed up in one philosophy and that philosophy rigidly deterministic.[27]

A second consideration, of a more theoretical nature, is that while Spengler denies the absoluteness of any idea of truth and declares the world to be one of eternal flux, he bases his whole philosophy upon the absoluteness of one assumption--the law of morphology.

Still another contradiction has been pointed out by Hale.

> The philosophy scorns all mechanism and materialism, and sees each culture as the product of one thing only: of the soul of man awakening from the surrounding chaos. But this vaunted all-productive soul actually produces nothing, since, as we have seen, it becomes completely distinguished after every short period. The cultures and their souls, disappear, but the world goes on, a mechanical process, a wholly material thing. Soul culminates in soullessness.[28]

Again Spengler insists that no heritage is left by any of the separate cultures. He tells us that their meaning can never be attained by anyone outside of them.

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27. Anon., London Times, (Literary Supplement), December 25, 1926, 942.
28. Hale, CD, 135.

Even history itself is powerless to reveal their soul. But Spengler's whole philosophy is based on his profound belief that he can understand the very soul-meaning of all of the cultures despite the barriers of time and space. He first denies that we can ever penetrate into the Classical, Magian, or Indian soul and mind and then builds a towering philosophy which is based completely on his ability to penetrate into the essence of these alien cultures.

III. PRACTICAL RESULTS

Relativism. We turn now from a criticism of Spengler's methodology to an examination of some of the end products of his system. The first of these are his relativism and pluralism which, if carried to their extremes, eventuate in skepticism and solipsism. Spengler attributes to each culture an Euclidean completeness. He has it that each culture possesses its own mathematic, its own art, its own form of the state, etc. As his British interpreters say, "All ideas that matter, all feelings that have vitality, all truths, even those apparently eternal, are relative only to their period and must be judged as such."[29] Spengler also insists that other cultures can scarcely comprehend much less assimilate these ideas.

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29. Goddard and Gibbons, DC, 29.

All of which causes Mumford to remark: "He writes as though the difference between Apollinian and Faustian man were a difference of species, instead of what it really is, a difference of mode."[30]

Pluralism. William Benjamin Smith points clearly to a danger that here confronts Spengler. ". . . By over-accent he is tempted to fall into unfortunate Pluralism and to lose hold of the Oneness of the world. . . ."[31] But Spengler seems to utilize a basic monism in his thought. He never does tell us why, if each culture is so unique and so radically different from all others, there exists such a strict analogy in the forms, seasons, and life-spands of all of them. If Spengler's long drawn out series of analogies, comparisons, and contrasts have any meaning at all, must it not be because there is some deeper unity underlying the cultures themselves? It must be granted that the human spirit takes forms and that these forms die. But the human spirit is the constant, and philosophy cannot abstract its various forms and manifestations from each other.

Spengler, as we have stated before, denies interrelation between the cultures. The consequences of such a denial for Carl Joachim Friedrich makes up a serious criticism to be passed on Spengler.

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30. Rev. 1, 368.
31. Art. 1, 611.

> The most serious criticism which Spengler's thought has encountered centers around the problem of the relationship between "cultures." For if, as he maintains, these growths are entirely unrelated so far as their essential forming processes are concerned, the same might with equal justification be maintained for the group souls contained within a Culture. In fact, this process of isolation on the basis of genuine "souls" and their organic life might (and perhaps philosophically must) be logically pushed to the point of complete individualistic solipsism.[32]

Inadequate Concept of Society. Spengler's relativism and pluralism can both find a basis in the fact that he does pay adequate attention to the concept of society. It must be granted that even individuals can build up time and space worlds which have no existence apart from the selves that construct them. But how can the time and space uniformities of the symbolic world, the Laws of Nature, be explained? Is it not because man is a "variable constant?" Cultures cannot be regarded as being spontaneously generated. Every community owes its culture to some other community. "To separate them from one another, as it were in watertight compartments, is quite arbitrary. To consider the cultures of different races in isolation is a mere abstraction. . . ."[33] A philosophy of history cannot be content with considering the various cultures as separate entities. A true perspective of history can be secured only by considering

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32. Rev. 1.
33. Chant and Joyce, Art. 1, 766.

mankind as a whole. A nobler edifice of history can be erected than that based on a series of independent national cultures. All of the cultural achievements of the world cannot be confined to some eight to twelve culture-peoples each of whom are responsible for a complete and independent civilization. Such a scheme of history makes little place for cultural interaction and admixture or for the cooperation of several peoples in a single civilization.

In the place of the isolated cultures of Spengler, William Benjamin Smith sets the idea of the "Communal Soul."

> The fact is that the great Symbol is social as well as Individual. The Constructive Souls are fundamentally one both at any given moment of time and through the long stretches of human and even planetary history. Each is a wavelet of the One universal wave. The individual human consciousness is not the final form to which Consciousness may attain. The Communal Consciousness Divine lies far ahead on the path that we are all stumbling along. It is the goal of history, if there is any goal, if we are not whirled on forever in an endless, unmeaning circle. . . . Only in this Cummunal Consciousness, germinal as yet, lies the eternity even of mathematical truth, the meaning of morality and sympathy and love, as well as the promise and the potency of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."[34]

A mere formula for the life cycle of individual peoples is not enough. The laws of cultural interaction must also be understood. Using Spenglerian terminology,

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34. Art. 1, 618.

the last period of a culture-cycle, Civilization, is the time at which that civilization is most open to external influence. Seen thus the Roman-Hellenistic period was not so much an era of decay as it was of syncretism. During those centuries the influences of the East and West flowed together to form practically a new civilization. When the two streams again separated it was with a profound influence upon the future. The culture of the East, Islam, carried on the philosophy of Aristotle while the West took unto itself profound truths of the religion of the Levant. Aristotle and Galen went to India with the Moslems and to Scotland and Scandinavia with the Christians. Roman law alike lived on in the medieval canonists and the ulema of Islam. The tradition of Israel was preserved both in the Koran and in the Christian Bible. Had Spengler but been a greater student of sociology he would have realized that cultures are not so much the result of development as they are of interaction.

Inadequate Concept of Man. Not only does Spengler have an inadequate conception of society, but his view of man is also to be criticized. Doubtless there is considerable truth in Spengler's portrayal of man as a beast of prey. The fact of wars; of racial, religious, and class conflicts; of shortsightedness and levity; of superstì-

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tions and follies; of animal appetities and criminal tendencies all seem to point to Spengler's conclusion. But these facts are not the whole story.

> Man is cruel and selfish; but do these traits account for the family, the tribe, the state, the nation, the international organizations man has called into being? Man is selfish, yet his benevolence is a reality to be seen on every side. Man is solitary, in a sense, but he is also gregarious and social. He seeks the companionship of his fellows in a hundred ways, through clubs, lodges, churches, political parties, groups, unions, what not. Man fights, but he also cooperates. He kills, but he also saves. He has passions, but among them is a passion for truth, the passion for righteousness. He is vain and egotistical, but he goes to the stake for his ideas, and these ideas are often abstract and general.[35]

Can man be envisaged as a thorough beast of prey in a world which has a place for peace movements, world parliaments, and world tribunals? Where there are world campaigns against white slavery, habit forming drugs, peonage, and dreaded diseases? Where armament reduction and limitation treaties, war renunciation pacts, arbitration and conciliation agencies exist? Where capitalism is being challenged; old economic doctrines being revised; laws being adjusted; the aged, women and children being cared for; cooperative organizations being extended; monopolies being controlled; public utilities being regulated; conservation movements being fostered; the redistribution of wealth being attempted; and reform movements in general

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35. Yarros, Rev. 1, 255.

are looked upon with favor?

Determinism. Continuing a study of the results of Spengler's philosophy that have a more personal connotation, we turn next to his determinism. His English interpreters, Messrs. Goddard and Gibbon, tell us:

> We have to admit then--and why fuss about the admission?--that we are not entirely free beings, that according to the epoch in which we are born will be our capacities and our ambitions (if we have any), that we are to some extent puppets in the hands of something beyond and above us, whether we call it fate or the Immanent Intent; this even the greatest have felt, assuming that something other than they was working in and through them. What we have to do is to accept these limitations and do our best within those bounds.[36]

Again,

> We have to believe that a civilization is an organism like other organisms, that its course is predetermined. . . . We are part of a greater whole which lies within the hands of powers greater than ourselves to raise or cast down.[37]

All past cultures according to Spengler have followed a definite cycle eventuating in a downfall. Reasoning on a "what has-been will-be" basis our future is mapped out for us, and we are but to play our parts in the inevitable outcome of the drama of destiny. In the final days of our civilization the problem of determinism will crop up more and more, but it can be finally solved only by a resort to mysticism or a failure of interest in it.

An answer to this cyclic determinism of Spengler

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36. CC, 28f.
37. Ibid., 214.

is suggested by F. C. S. Schiller.

> It is true, no doubt, that nations and civilizations rise and fall, but that they all do so may be a series of coincidences, and due to different causes in each case. And even if the same causes do operate in all cases they need not be anything recondite; the decline and fall of a civilization may always be due to human stupidity and to a reiteration of the same fatal blunders, rather than to the blind necessity of an inexorable "law." We should reckon moreover with the possibility that the cosmic "cycles" are really spirals and with the irreversibility of all cosmic processes, while allowance must also be made for the fact that, as we have seen, no "law" can provide for or guard against the intrusion of real novelties, the "accidental variations" to which even mechanistic Darwinism has to trace back the upward urge of "evolution."[38]

Spengler in his "Introduction" says:

> And I can only hope that men of the new generation may be moved by this book to devote themselves to technics instead of lyrics, the sea instead of the paint-brush, and politics instead of epistemology.[39]

It is as if Spengler wanted to see his hypothesis pragmatically justified. Spengler's task throughout his work is a practical one. He wishes to plot out the descending curve of Western Civilization so as to impress upon the present generation the crisis through which it is passing and the true task that lies before it. There is in Spengler's view no need for artists, philosophers, and poets. There remains only the practical task of conserving in these realms. What is needed in this and coming ages are men of "Roman hardness," engineers, financiers, and or-

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38. Ibid., xiiif.
39. Spengler, DW, Vol. I, 41.

ganizers. We are destined by birth to a particular century, country, people, religion, and class.

> It is not within our power to choose. . . . This destiny is something to which we have to adapt ourselves. It dooms us to certain situations, views, and actions. There are no "men-in-themselves" such as the philosophers talk about, but only men of a time, of a locality, of a race, of a personal cast, who contend in battle with a given world and win through or fail, while the universe around them moves slowly on with a god-like unconcern.[40]

The most bitter answer to the whole Spenglerian cycle of determinism comes from William Harlan Hale.

> Spengler is not merely a determinist, a fatalist, he is a conscious and deliberate opponent of human principles; he represents something ultimately Mephistophelian. . . . In Spenglerian theory the deeds of man are creative--yes, indeed; the soul is the genesis of all things. But the whole movement of creation is toward decay: each deed, instead of being the fulfillment of a possibility, is the elimination of one. That is, since the cycle of culture is predestined and automatic, each work of art, each discovery of science, each summary of philosophy, is merely an automatic step further away from the primitive soul to the decaying intellect. . . . Each progressive fact of life in a culture is negative in that it leads inevitably and irreversibly toward the quick death of that culture and the unredeemable extinction of its soul. Each great creative act is a step into creative death: a culture asserts itself chiefly to destroy itself.
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> . . . . . .
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> . . . The effect of every deed reaches toward death: the act of advance or progress is the move into decay. The more deeds there are--the more there is written and thought and painted and played--the faster will come the complete collapse. As Robinson Jeffers said . . . "You making haste haste on decay." The more you do the quicker you become undone. What then? The only rational answer would be, Do Nothing.[41]

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40. Spengler, MT, 15f.
41. CD, 159ff.

A less passionate reply is suggested by William Nathanson. He begins by reminding his readers that though Spengler discards causality from the affairs of human life he substitutes destiny in its place. Though Nathanson accepts the Spenglerian distinction between causality and destiny, he regards it impossible to predict with positive certainty the future of a nation or nations. Moving on to a positive argument, he finds the only alternative to causality to be the Bergsonian view of creative evolution. He agrees with Bergson in holding that though the entire past is an influence and guide, it by no means determines the future. The future does not simply evolve out of the past, but it is being eternally created by the universal spirit. Seen thus, the present dubious state of affairs is a cause of our destruction rather than a symptom of it. This destruction is not unavoidable.

> Where there is life there is hope; and still more hope is there where there is spirit. Life, and above all, spirit, in its innermost essence, due to its creative power works by destiny and wisdom, and not by cause and effect. The slightest spiritual effort, therefore, the slightest real spiritual willing, planning, and deciding, may create an entirely new chain of causes and effects that the human mind, especially in its off-shoot known as logic, will formulate into new laws, and thus annul all previous determinations and predeterminations.[42]

Pessimism. Growing out of Spengler's determinism and closely linked with it is a deep mood of pessimism.

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42. Nathanson, Art. 1, 574f.

Again for a description we turn to Hale.

> Western man--whose deepest essence, according to Spengler, is typified by the striving and straining of Faust--suddenly must deny his entire soul, go back on his whole development, and surrender all the spirit which he held most cherished.
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> This is his last word. . . . He ends . . . by plunging us into a confusion far greater than any from which he may have lifted us. We must renounce--not our too proud emotions, but our entire will to do and to create. We must submit--not to laws of man and order and society, but to the blind unaccountable cycle of mechanical nature. We must die--not in the attempt to fulfill our great and tragic ambitions, but in the blank necessity of decay.[43]

However, pessimism is denied by Spengler. Rather we should accept the inevitable and embrace our destiny. Such procedure is the mark of highest wisdom. Though we are in the winter of our Culture there is yet much to do. Creative art is finished, but industry and the practical tasks of administration remain. By cultivating a Roman hardness we may retain our civilization on a relatively high level for centuries. By consciously accepting a tragic destiny with all of its implications and possibilities we may rise to the most complete affirmation of life that is possible.

Spengler himself complained of "the almost universal misunderstanding" of his book. A good part of this he attributed to the title. "Some people confound the decline of the ancient world with the sinking of an ocean liner. If we speak of fulfillment (Vollendung), the

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43. CD, 161f.

pessimism disappears."[44] Spengler goes on at length to analyze his meaning.

> When in 1911, under the impression of Agadir, I discovered my "pessimism," an unimaginative optimism lay heavy on the world. To-day I would choose another formula to attack the equally unimaginative pessimism. I am the last person to dispose of history in a phrase. On the other hand, as regards what is called the goal of mankind, I am indeed a pessimist. I see no progress, no goal. I see no spirit, and ever less a unity of striving, feeling, and understanding in this mere concourse of human beings. I see only aim within the history of a given cycle. And here, too, the tasks are historical, not ethical. That is only pessimism to the man who regards history as a highroad on which humanity trots along, always in the same direction. I am no pessimist. Pessimism means seeing no more tasks to fulfill, whereas I see so many that I fear that there will not be enough time or men to perform them. A Roman hardness is beginning, and soon there will be room for nothing else. We shall not make another Goethe, but we may yet make a Caesar.[45]

Ralph Tyler Flewelling mitigates the pessimism of Spengler by denying any real decline.

> In a cyclic concept of history, decline is only apparent as it portends an early rise. On such a consideration there could be no real decline, only a returning cycle incapable of real change. Disaster in such a case is only apparent. It is this realization that accounts for what is sometimes called Oriental stolidity. Rise and decline are robbed of their meaning.[46]

However, if language and the meaning of words are to have any validity at all, the charge of pessimism must stand against Spengler. If we were to accept Spengler's philosophy and with it a garbled and changed system of word-

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44. Gooch, G, 333.
45. Ibid., 333f. From Pessimismus?, Publ. 1921.
46. Flewelling, DW, 23.

meanings, we might be able to visualize his philosophy as being something other than pessimism. But writing from a non-Spenglerian point of view and retaining the conventional meanings of words the charge of pessimism must stick. As to Flewelling's suggestion, it seems to have a tinge of philosophic Pollyannaism about it.

Ethical and Spiritual Implications. The ethical, religious, and spiritual dangers manifest in a philosophy such as Spengler's are manifest. Religious faith is but a manifestation of culture. A man striving to find his God is merely seeking to escape from a life of freedom back into one of vegetal servitude. Ideals are cowardice. Pride in achievements of the age are but shallow enthusiasms. Skepticism is the last worthy philosophy of our age. We conclude with nihilism.

> The philosophy of doom avoids the rational . . . and it avoids the human. It denies the continuity of deed, matter, and law. It casts out the enduring fact of human will, energy, man's onward thrust. All that it holds as true is the isolation of moments, and the cessation of activity. Starting from the biological plan of individual life, it ends by refusing any biology of the life beyond mere individuals. Beginning with the enthronement of the soul, it concludes with the overthrow of the soul's endurance.[47]

Spengler's philosophy suggests an attitude of resignation, a contentment with the brutish forces dominant in life, a refusal to humanize the contents of existence.

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47. Hale, CD, 162.

He calls us to action without thought and to civilization without cultural form.

> Every writer who becomes a hack, every industrialist who becomes a mere money-maker, every politician who permits chicane and stupidity and false motives to pile up the explosives for another war, every trade-unionist who betrays his class--each and all of these will find their apology in Spengler. . . . The local and immediate effect of Spengler's history is likely to be a bad one, in that it will increase the number of spiritual suicides in our generation.[48]

As yet man has happily failed to read the future. It would be deplorable if men by doing so would persuade themselves that ours is a decadent period, and that therefore they should conduct themselves as a decadent people.

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48. Mumford, Rev. 2, 141.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have covered considerable ground in our study of Spengler. In an introductory chapter we viewed the general field of philosophy of history, selected the particular aspect we were to direct our attention to, and became acquainted with Spengler. In a second chapter we launched into his intricate metaphysical theory and sought to gain a basis for our study of the actual history. In a third chapter we opened up the realms of past history and studied at some length Spengler's interpretation of the intellectual, cultural, and political aspects. A fourth chapter brought our historical attention into our own day and projected it into the future in an effort to foresee the workings of destiny. In a fifth chapter we subjected Spengler to a critical test--a criticism that was not always sympathetic or appreciative. We found him failing in many regards, but yet we could not help but be impressed by the feeling that here embedded in this Titan's philosophy was a message for our age. In this final chapter we seek to discover that message--to find the truth in Spengler's philosophy.

The Personal Equation. The personal equation must be considered as an integral factor in any scheme of historic decline and decay. We have suggested that Spengler

apparently wrote with a practical end in view and as if he wished to see his hypothesis pragmatically justified. But can we not with our modern and unique historical sense keep from sinking into the living death of megalopolitan civilization? Spengler perhaps may be right when he says that we near the end of our civilization. Even such a present day optimist as John Dewey admits that

> it is of course, conceivable that the present culture is to collapse; in its present economic form it surely will in time--and probably with only a few to mourn it. But the total destruction . . . of all factors in civilization will occur only if all the rest of us--from levity and routine rather than from a sense of tragedy--agree with Spengler that human desire and thought are impotent. It does not help to say that we are completely in the grip of an overwhelming cosmic force, when in reality we are faced with the problem of what we are to do with a tool we have ourselves created.[1]

If modern man has reached the abyss can he not by virtue of his infinite view ask, "Where do we go from here?" He will not be easily convinced by "only" arguments and "only" ways out. The philosophy of pragmatism and the factor of personality are too powerful to be so easily dissuaded. Leon Whipple characteristically expresses it.

> "So," we say, "that's the worst. That's hundred per cent. Well, where do we go from here?" It would be just like Faustian Man, assigned by Spengler to die without hope, like a Roman Stoic and a German aristocrat, to get bored with the job and nonchalently ask Fellow-Stoic Spengler for a light for his cigarette to pass the time of night till doom struck. The

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1. Rev. 1, 582.

> light might show him a crevice in the blank wall and presently he'd be puttering in his fool way, and find the way out.[2]

Ancient and Modern Civilizations. We cannot believe that Western civilization has already lost its creative power, and that therefore it is doomed to stagnation and petrifaction. The analogies drawn between modern Western culture and those of the ancient Orient, while often revelatory and thought-provoking, cannot be taken as absolute truth or as due to God-given prophetic insight. Too great differences exist between the East and the West to permit the drawing of such strict parallels. The culture and the civilization reached by the West are, despite all that Spengler says, of a greater calibre and a higher nobility than those hitherto attained. May not the West by virtue of these pass on to something even greater and nobler? Why cannot another culture grow up anew in the midst of Western Civilization?

> The curse of all previous final states is that they have been replaced by vigorous but abject barbarisms. May we not, perhaps for the first time, make the transposition consciously, from a finished civilization to a new and budding culture? May we not retain a little of our painfully acquired technique, whilst we renew the life, without which that technique is so empty and sterile?[3]

The difference between ancient and modern civilizations is so important that it warrants further discussion. The most distinctive characteristic of modern civilization

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2. Rev. 1, 48.
3. Mumford, Rev. 1, 369.

is that it is an age of applied science. By means of science and its technique Western man has been able to render the modern world well-nigh spaceless and timeless--at least to the extent that the time schedules of the past can no longer be applied to the present age. The civilizations of the past have decayed often because of their predatory nature. The only means by which their cultures could be maintained was by an unjust dependence upon those who shared not in their benefits. The world has ever been built upon false economic and moral forces that were inherently unjust and hence rendered precarious all civilizations that embodied them. Modern industrial problems have had their counterparts in the savage raid and slavery of past civilizations.

> Modern civilization can escape its Winter by the application to social and political life of that same intelligence which in the physical sciences is enabling us to escape from the routine limitations of narrowed confines in time as well as space, which are the two fundamental bases of life itself. The failure of analogies grows apparent when one looks forward mindful of these possibilities already dawning in what may be the first real springtime of civilization after all.
>
> There is, therefore, another perspective than that of Spengler, which sees the present moment not as the end of a process but as the first beginning of the passing of barbaric life.[4]

Two Modes of Salvation. Attempts to save the present Western civilization may take two avenues of approach.

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4. Shotwell, Art. 1, 287.

The application of "that same intelligence" to our modern political and social life may be in the nature of purely mechanical action in which "we work somehow on the material world" ao as to prevent decline. Messrs. Goddard and Gibbons, thinking in terms of Spenglerian organisms, can see salvation only through a biological knowledge by means of which the proportion of the sexes, intelligence, practical ability, skilled and unskilled labor may be controlled. In fine, "we may have a wonderfully regulated society of ecto-genetic human beings, whose life is ordered according to the edicts of state or international advisers and doctors."[5] But if this be the only way out, the majority of thinking men would cry, "On with the show!" If the course of world-civilization has taught anything, it is that technics is not enough.

A second possible way out is suggested, one propounded by most of the clerical critics of Spengler who

> . . . assume that salvation may come to us, if we so will it, because the birth of Christ has given new spiritual power to the world. If the world makes use of the gift, the vitality of Western civilization will remain and a new phase will begin.[6]

This is decidedly more in harmony with the suggestions in the previous section. After all, the only things that keep man from living a sheer animal existence are ideals,

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5. CC, 218.
6. Ibid., 218.

and in the long run they are the only means by which any civilization can keep from turning back on itself in hopeless decline. Thus seen, ideals are not cowardice nor an escape from reality but a triumphing in the face of destiny itself and an assertion that reality can be changed.

Decline or Destiny. It would itself be a sign of inner decay if Spengler, despite his many inconsistencies, fails to awaken within modern man an apprehension, an uneasiness, a questioning. Perhaps that which is of most value in Spengler is his challenge to thought and action. We are forced to realize that his prophecy not only is possible but is more than plausible. No civilization, not even that of the West, contains within itself the germs of immortality. Since 1914 both Europe and America have gone a long ways toward destroying themselves. If Western civilization continues in its present course, it will well merit the death that awaits it.

Our destiny is in the balance, Within all civilizations of today there are forces that are moving in the direction of a more extensive megalopolitanism and Caesarism. Life in all areas is becoming more rigid and mechanical . The most destructive forms of civilization with its congested cities, its slum proletariat, its threatening internecine warfare is upon us. Western man may choose between Civilization and death or passionately assert Culture and life.

> If we seize our destiny, we may pass through a short "open" winter, and emerge again into spring. If we continue to follow it mechanically, inertly, in the world-weary mood of so many of our contemporaries, who live, if at all, on dead hopes and mouldy panaceas; if we give ourselves over to technique, matter-of-fact, spiritual hardness, glorification of what is--then, probably there will be no spring.[7]

Spengler is for the modern age neither a guide nor a philosophy but a challenge and an indictment. A greater than Spengler made a similar indictment two thousand years ago. "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" What shall it profit a people, if they shall gain the highest civilization known to history, and in so doing lose sight of the cultural values, of the ideals of life?

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7. Shotwell, Art. 1, 287.

DIGEST

The thesis opened with a definition of and a brief survey of "Philosophy of History," a statement of the problem, a biographical sketch of Spengler, and an account of the plan of procedure. Spengler begins his philosophy with a criticism of the conventional idea of linear progress. This he regards as artificial, as falsely assuming the existence of universals, and as mistakenly viewing the West as the culmination of world history. His own view is that of Goethe who saw everything as organic. History as organic is to be known--not by the superimposition of formal logic, causality, and ideal possibility--but by sympathy, inward certainty, and intellectual flair. History as organic also shares in the processes of birth, growth, maturity, and decay. The denial of universal ideas puts in the place of a single linear development a series of distinct Cultures. Each of these organic Cultures passes through the same pattern of growth, development, and final decay. The similarity of the basic Culture patterns makes it possibile to identify uniquely occuring events within chronologically parallel forms. It also provides for the reconstruction of the past and the pre-determination of the future.

The prime phenomena of history are Cultures. The enquiry of history is the study of the expression-media

appearing in these Cultures. A Culture comes into existence when a great soul awakens out of the proto-spirituality of boundless humanity. The whole process comes about suddenly as if by a mutation. But the breaking away of a Culture from the formless and boundless makes it become a form, a bounded and mortal thing, and subject to a definite history. A Culture consists in a specific attitude of mind toward the external world. This attitude of mind, the soul of the Culture, contains within it certain inherent possibilities which are realized and fulfilled. The fulfillment of a Culture is both its climax and decline. The realization of a Culture culminates in the hardened and mortified Civilization. History is the process of the actualization of a Culture.

The world-view or soul of each Culture is discovered by assuming a metaphysics that regards everything as symbolic. The prime symbol of a Culture is its conception of extension. The child or the primitive man does not have a grasp of the meaning of the external world. This comes about with the awakening of the soul. What the nature of the external world shall be depends upon an implicit Destiny within the individual which unites him with a particular Culture. The dominant idea of the Culture, in the course of its development, is expressed in one form after another--each successive form being the more satisfactory. In the course of time the idea

finally becomes realized in all the forms that are possible to the type of mind that conceived it. At this stage the vital Culture gives way before a mechanical Civilization.

Spengler substantiates his metaphysical system by a massive amount of historical data from varied fields of human activity. In the spiritual-intellectual realm he traces the progressive realization of several Cultures from the Spring of myth and legend and scholasticism through the Summer of reformation, pure philosophy and the great conclusive systems of thought into the final downgoing of Winter with its materialism, ethical-social ideals of life, and marked by the degradation of abstract thought and the spread of a final world-sentiment.

In the realm of culture the same process is followed from the Pre-Cultural period with its chaos of primitive expression forms, mystical symbolism, and naïve imitation into the period of Culture in which the world feeling first takes shape in an unselfconscious manner and then passes to the formation of a group of arts that have become self-conscious and in the hands of the great masters to be terminated in the period of Civilization in which strict creativeness disappears, style gives way to taste to become an era of rapidly changing fashions, revivals, and borrowings that is ended with a meaningless and pretentious architecture and a static art of fixed

forms.

Politically the cycle begins in the Pre-Cultural period with the organization of tribes and chiefs. The period of Culture is characterized by the rise of the nobles and priests, and a life in and of the country in which the city is simply a market or a stronghold. The disollution of the patriarchal forms followed by a period of anarchy sees the nobles and priests transformed into or replaced by statesmen who are subject to the idea of the dominant state. The Third Estate comes into being, and the towns supercede the countryside. The State-idea actualized, it breaks up, often in revolution. The period of Civilization sees an essentially urban populace characterized by the masses and the domination of money. The great powers are either in actual or potential war. The constitutional power of the nations is replaced by the informal sway of individuals which process leads to Caesarism. Force politics wins the victory over money, and the passive peoples become the prey of the individual leaders. Gradually the mass of people relapse into a primitive condition above whom are a small number of highly civilized and intelligent men.

A critical analysis of Spengler which terminated the paper censored his method of approach which is marked by the dismissal of reason and the acceptance of intuitive insight as the way of historical truth. His intuitive

method carries him beyond the realm of reality and eventuates in sheer mythology. The deductive method forces Spengler to base his entire thesis upon selective data and causes him to give a false aspect to a whole era of world history. The end products of his philosophy: relativism, pluralism, incomplete notions of man and society, determinism, pessimism, and the dire ethical and spiritual implications also were examined and confirmed the conclusion that his was neither the true nor adequate philosophy for the present age.

But despite the many fallacies and impoverishments of Spengler's thought, his prophetic pronouncement should give a declining civilization pause and the opportunity to forestall his thesis.

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